

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

AN INVESTIGATION OF PRIVATE/ PUBLIC PARTNERSHIPS IN TOURISM-
THE CASE OF ESELENKEI CONSERVANCY IN KAJIADO DISTRICT-KENYA

JUDITH A KEPHER-GONA

REG. NO. C50/P/7838/04

... MAIBOW

WW

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE
AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS IN SOCIOLOGY (RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT)

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|------|
| LIST OF TABLES..... | IV |
| DECLARATION..... | V |
| ABSTRACT..... | VI |
| DEDICATION..... | VII |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS..... | VIII |
| CHAPTER ONE. | |
| 1.0 BACKGROUND..... | 9 |
| 1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT..... | 3 |
| 1.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY..... | 6 |
| 1.3 OBJECTIVES OF STUDY..... | 8 |
| 1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS..... | 8 |
| CHAPTER TWO. | |
| LITERATURE REVIEW..... | |
| 2.1 OVERVIEW OF KENYA'S TOURISM INDUSTRY..... | 9 |
| 2.1.1 TOURISM POLICY FRAMEWORK IN KENYA..... | 10 |
| 2.1.2 TOURISM INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK..... | 13 |
| 2.1.3 CONSERVATION & TOURISM..... | 16 |
| 2.1.4 POST-COLONIAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING IN KENYA..... | 19 |
| 2.1.5 MEASURING TOURISM PERFORMANCE..... | 21 |
| 2.1.6 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM..... | 22 |
| 2.2 PRIVATE/PUBLIC PARTNERSHIPS..... | 23 |
| 2.3 THE CONSERVANCY CONCEPT IN KENYA..... | 26 |
| CHAPTER THREE | |
| RESEARCH METHODS..... | |
| 3.1 SITE DESCRIPTION..... | 30 |
| 3.2 SITE SELECTION..... | 31 |
| 3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN..... | 31 |
| 3.3.1 UNIT OF ANALYSIS..... | 31 |
| 3.3.2 UNIT OF OBSERVATION..... | 31 |
| 3.4 SAMPLE..... | 31 |
| 3.5 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION..... | 32 |
| 3.5.1 KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS..... | 32 |
| 3.5.2 Focus GROUP DISCUSSIONS..... | 32 |
| 3.5.4 CASE STUDY..... | 33 |
| 3.5.5 DOCUMENTARY SOURCES..... | 33 |
| 3.6 TECHNIQUES OF DATA COLLECTION..... | 33 |

| | | |
|--|---|-----------|
| 3.6.1 | INTERVIEW SCHEDULE GUIDE | 34 |
| 3.6.2 | Focus GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE | 34 |
| 3.7 | ETHICAL ISSUES OBSERVED..... | 36 |
| 3.8 | DATA ANALYSIS METHODS..... | 37 |
| 3.9 | THEORETICAL MODEL..... | 37 |
| 3.9 | CONCEPTUAL MODEL..... | 43 |
| CHAPTER FOUR..... | | 44 |
| FINDINGS.....* | | |
| 4.1 | THE CONTEXT AND SETTING OF THE PARTNERSHIP..... | 44 |
| 4.1.1 | ESELENKEI AS GROUP RANCH..... | 44 |
| 4.1.2 | ESELENKEI CONSERVANCY..... | 46 |
| 4.2 | HISTORY & EXPERIENCE WITH CONSERVATION AND TOURISM..... | 48 |
| 4.2.1 | THE CREATION OF AMBOSELI NATIONAL PARK..... | 48 |
| 4.2.2 | WILDLIFE GOVERNANCE..... | 51 |
| 4.2.3 | TOURISM..... | 53 |
| 4.2.5 | HUNTING..... | 54 |
| 4.3 | COMMUNITY ORGANISATION AND ACTION..... | 57 |
| 4.3.1 | THE AMBOSELITSAVO GROUP RANCHES ASSOCIATION (ATTGRA)..... | 57 |
| 4.3.2 | ROLE OF NGOS & DONOR GROUPS..... | 62 |
| 4.4 | TRENDS..... | 64 |
| 4.4.1 | JOINT VENTURES AND CONSERVANCIES..... | 64 |
| 4.4.2 | ECOTOURISM..... | 67 |
| 4.5 | STRUCTURE..... | 70 |
| 4.5.1 | SELECTING THE PARTNER..... | 70 |
| 4.5.2 | SELECTING THE MODEL..... | 72 |
| 4.5.3 | NEGOTIATING THE PARTNERSHIP..... | 73 |
| 4.5.4 | SHARING INFORMATION..... | 77 |
| 4.6 | STRATEGIC PLANNING & GOVERNANCE..... | 78 |
| 4.6.3 | ROLE OF ELDERS/LEADERS..... | 80 |
| 4.6.4 | ROLE OF PORINI ECOTOURISM..... | 80 |
| 4.6.5 | ROLE OF NGOS..... | 81 |
| 4.7 | THE NEGOTIATED PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENT..... | 83 |
| 4.7.1 | PARTNERS IN THE PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENT..... | 83 |
| 4.7.2 | DRAFTING THE AGREEMENT..... | 86 |
| 4.7.3 | SIGNING THE AGREEMENT..... | 88 |
| 4.7.4 | ARTICLES OF THE AGREEMENT..... | 89 |
| 4.8 | IMPLEMENTATION CHALLENGES..... | 92 |
| 4.8.1 | GOVERNANCE..... | 92 |
| 4.8.2 | MANAGING EXPECTATIONS..... | 93 |
| 4.8.3 | LEGITIMACY OF PARTNERS..... | 93 |
| CHAPTER 5 • SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS..... | | 94 |
| 5.1.1 | PRIVATE PUBLIC PARTNERSHIPS AS SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT..... | 94 |
| 5.1.3 | PRIVATE PUBLIC PARTNERSHIPS AS FINANCIAL BENEFITS FOR LOCAL PEOPLE..... | 96 |
| 5.1.5 | PRIVATE PUBLIC PARTNERSHIPS AS EMPOWERMENT FOR LOCAL PEOPLE..... | 97 |
| 5.1.6 | PUBLIC PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS AS EQUITY..... | 98 |
| 5.1.7 | RESOURCE OWNERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT..... | 99 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| 5.1.8 ROLES, RESPONSIBILITIES AND COMMITMENT OF PARTNERS | 99 |
| 5.2 CONCLUSIONS..... | 100 |
| REFERENCES..... | 102 |
| APPENDICES..... | 109 |

LIST OF TABLES

- Table 1: Legislation Relevant to Management of Tourism in Kenya
- Table 2: Institutions, organisations & Association Relevant to Tourism Sector in Kenya
- Table 3: Private Sector Association in Tourism
- Table 4: Civil Society Organisations Supporting Community Based Tourism and Conservation in Community Areas
- Table 5: Tourism Earnings in Kenya 2000 - 2011

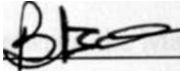
DECLARATION

This research is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other university

Gona, Judith AdhiamboKepher Signature *t i u a J L*
DATE

Declaration by supervisor

This report has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor

Dr BeneaMutsotso Signature 
DATE *t/fZ^*

ABSTRACT

Private/public partnerships are today an integral part of the sustainable tourism thinking. Conceptualised as vehicles through which local people could benefit from tourism, these partnerships have been on the increase in many developing countries where tourism takes place in rural areas. In Kenya, the growth of these partnerships has been favoured by the presence of a large percentage of wildlife outside protected areas, in community land. Tourism investors are entering into business agreements with local landowners to develop tourism ventures on community land with the promise of sharing benefits from tourism with the local people. Yet there are concerns on the efficacy of these partnerships in terms of involving communities and delivering benefits from tourism to local people as argued by its proponents.

This study examines one such partnership between the Maasai of Eselenkei Group Ranch in Kajiado district, Kenya and Porini Ecotourism a not for profit organisation affiliated to tour company Game watchers safaris. The study considers the participation of the community in the conceptualisation, planning and execution (management) of the partnership to establishing how it benefits the community. It further analyses the views of involved parties with regard to benefits and benefit sharing, participation, equity while paying attention to and potential areas of conflict.

The results of this study reveal that private public partnerships in tourism have potential to bridge the disconnect between tourism earnings and poverty in destinations. However the efficacy of these partnerships are influenced by several factors including context of implementation, participation, leadership and governance, motivation of partners, capacity of partners, policy including lack of policy guidelines on these partnerships, nature of benefits, and models of partnership.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to two very special people in my life: my son Henzo and my husband G. Gona. Through good and tough times, we have been family. I love you.

To Mama, you deserve special mention for being a tower of hope for all of us and for the many valuable life lessons.

Bless you all.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work is the final step in the fulfilment of the M.A Degree in Sociology at the University of Nairobi, College of Humanities and Social Sciences. When I embarked on this study, I had working knowledge and views on the concept of ecotourism and private/community partnerships. Most of these have either changed or been enriched thanks to groups and individuals I interacted with through the course work, field interviews' and academic discourses.

I most sincerely appreciate the effort of all my lecturers in the Department of Sociology for their commitment to creating scholars out of a bunch of mature students from diverse academic and working backgrounds. I am in particular appreciative of the support of Professor Mauri Yambo for assisting in conceptualisation of the project and Dr. Benea Mutsoso in providing guidance in writing of this project paper. To all my classmates, meeting and working with you provided new insights to life and personal growth.

In addition I am enormously grateful to members of Eselenkei Group Ranch, the Chairman Ole Babu, Group Ranch leadership past and present, Wilson Kasaine my assistant and interpreter, David Kitasho the head conservation at Eselenkei Conservancy, the staff at Selenkay Porini Camp and to Jake Grieves Grieves-Cook, a Director of Porini Ecotourism and Managing Director of Gamewatchers Safaris for allowing me to study this pioneer private/community partnership in tourism in Kenya and for openly sharing their experiences, thoughts, hopes, fears and aspirations in as far as private /community partnerships are concerned.

Finally, I thank my family for their critical support. I thank Mama for unceasing prayers, my husband GG for your encouragement and patience, my son Henzo for your interest in Mama's work. I am forever grateful to you all!

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Background

Tourism continues to attract attention of most governments around the world and particularly those of developing countries (Ceballos-Lascurian, 1996:14). In 1998, tourism accounted for almost 12% of the world's GDP at more than US\$3.5 trillion (UNEP 1998:1). WTTC (2003:3) estimates that by the end of this decade, there will be a quarter of a billion people working in the travel and tourism sector. In Kenya, tourism has been a major economic force from the 1960s. Honey (1999:294) observes that from 1960s onward, Kenya's vibrant, wide-open capitalism helped turn the country into Africa's most popular wildlife tourism destination. By 1987, tourism had become Kenya's number one foreign exchange earner, surpassing both tea and coffee and no other African country was earning as much as Kenya from wildlife tourism (Honey, 1999:294). Between 2000 and 2007 Kenya's tourism earnings rose from US\$ 283,000,000 to US\$ 934,000,00 respectively (Kabiri 2010: 137). In 2010, Kenya recorded the highest tourist arrivals at 1,095,945 tourist arrivals and earned Ksh 73.68 billion. This figure surpassed the 2007 by 4.5%.

These impressive tourism statistics have impacted on Kenya's vision 2030. Vision 2030, the Kenya's blue print for economic growth, aims at increasing annual GDP growth rates to an average of 10% over the vision period and the government has identified tourism as a leading sector in achieving this goal. In this regard, Kenya aims at being among the log-haul tourism destinations in the world by offering a high-end, diverse and distinctive visitor experiences that few of her competitors can offer. Among the strategies to be adopted in order to achieve these goals is the quadrupling of annual GDP contribution to more than Kshs 200 billion and raising of international visitors from 1.6 million in 2006 to 2 million in 2012.

Yet tourism, like many other economic activities, does not always have positive impacts on the environment and host communities and therefore requires careful planning for it to be sustainable and to bring benefits (UNEP & CBD, 2002: 3). Prior to the advent of the sustainable development concept, little attention was given to negative impacts that economic activities had on people and the environment. Indeed no links had been established between sustainable resource use and development (Ceballos-Lascurian, 1996:87). Instead, emphasis had been put on efficient methods of extraction to produce more at lower costs. In the tourism sector, emphasis was put on maximising foreign exchange generated for the economy. This thinking led governments of some developing countries, including Kenya, to encourage liberal policies that would attract foreign investment to the sector with the objective of improving the GDP (Akama, 1999:9; Odunga, 2005:7; GoK, 2003:5). In the end, there were many developing countries, faced with the dilemma of growing tourism revenues and visitor numbers against deteriorating livelihoods (WTO, 2004:7). This approach to tourism failed to impact on lives of local people mainly those living in tourism destinations, also known as host communities.

From the mid 1990s, changes begun to take place, globally, in tourism planning and development with a shift from strong focus in number of tourists arrivals, to quality of experience, length of stay, tourist expenditure at destinations and community participation. Key to these changes has been the pressure to pursue 'sustainable development' across all sectors of human activity. These changes in the tourism sector are characterised by the emergence of concepts like sustainable tourism, responsible tourism, ecotourism, community-based tourism, community-based wildlife management, and sustainable natural resource management. Common to these models are their emphasis on active participation of host communities in the planning and execution of nature-based projects or programs (Mirovitsaya&Ascher, 2001:16). Apart from participation, these concepts put emphasis on co-ownership of tourism enterprises, participation in management and utilisation of natural resources, equitable distribution of benefits, reduction of leakages and conservation of resources through sustainable use. The values as embodied in these new concepts necessitated new approaches to tourism

enterprise planning, development and management. Among such new approaches are private/ community partnerships.

Key international organisations, private sector, governments, and development agencies echo the significance of partnerships in realising the ideals of sustainable development in the tourism sector (UNCED, 1995: 51; WTTC, 2003:1; WTO, 2004:7). Yet, partnerships per se are not new to the tourism industry. In Kenya, the earliest experiments to involve communities in tourism and conservation were initiated around Amboseli and Maasai Mara National Reserves and surrounding private ranches (Watkins, 2003:7). Since then many forms of partnerships in tourism and natural resource management have emerged in Kenya. The most common form of partnership involves external investors partnering with host communities for development of tourism infrastructure and activities and co-management of natural resources upon which tourism is dependent. These partnerships have come to be known as private/community partnerships and are seen as direct opportunities for host communities to benefit from tourism(ESOK, 2004:4).

1.1 Problem Statement

For many developing economies, tourism is a significant economic sector with potential to positively impact on their economies. Apart from being a top foreign exchange earner, tourism also generates employment and supports micro-enterprise growth. The World Tourism Organisation (WTO), (2004:10) argues that because tourism depends on resources/assets that rural communities have in abundance, it should have positive impacts on rural economies. It further notes that the potentials of tourism to impact on rural communities is inherent in its structure of delivery and consumption given that it is consumed at source, the sector is labour intensive, it employs more women and young people than most other industries, it creates opportunities for small entrepreneurs and is a more diverse than many other industries. Yet there is concern over how much of revenues earned from tourism reach host communities or is retained in the rural economies when even retention of profits at national level remains a challenge for many developing countries (Honey, 1999:88, Akama 1999:9, Odunga, 2005:7, GOK, 2003: 5, Omondi et al

2000:1, Reed et al. 2003:12). Indeed WTO reports that between 1990 and 2000, 54 developing countries suffered average income declines making them poorer in 2000 than they were in 1990. Out of these 54 countries, 30 recorded a 200% growth in tourism arrivals during the same period (WTO, 2004:7), raising concerns over concomitance between rising tourism arrivals and poverty in developing countries.

Concerns over the concomitance of tourism earnings and the state of development in rural areas of developing countries where tourism takes place, strongly came to the fore at the beginning the 1990s with the advent of the sustainable development paradigm (Western, 1993: 7-11). This paradigm is credited with the rise of concepts like ecotourism, sustainable tourism, responsible tourism, and community-based tourism all of which seek to address the disconnect between tourism earnings, host community poverty and resource management (Honey 1999:85; Roe et al 2000:25; DFID, 2002: 19 & 21; Roe et al, 2001:4). If the ideals of these concepts were realised, they would lead to balanced and shared development in the sector (Honey, 1999:87; Roe et al, 2001:4; Ziffer, 1989:6; Goodwin et al 1998 in DFID, 2002:25; Goodwin 2005:6). However, there are thorny issues in designing and implementing sustainable development models that could deliver benefits to local populations and contribute to conservation of resource DFID (2003:3). These issues include defining equity, participation, benefits, community and sustainability (DFID, 2003:3).

Private/community partnerships are seen as mechanisms that provide opportunities for host communities to benefit from tourism and to manage resources in a sustainable way. Notably, communities that engage in tourism depend, to a large extent, on common pool resources like wildlife, mountains, rivers, open grasslands, and forests. Beyond bringing benefits to host communities, delivery mechanism of the new concepts should take consideration of common pool resource issues like equity, participation, tenure, access and multiplicity of use. Whereas the systems of rights, institutions and management practices are clear for privately owned land for example, it is not clear for common pool resources as is the case with Maasai community land. Granted, therefore addressing issues of common pool resources requires approaches that are attentive to all involved

parties. It may therefore not be sufficient to have partnerships, particularly if they are not attentive to issues of common pool resources. How attentive is the private/ community partnerships at Eselenkei to needs of all involved parties?

There seems to be concurrence that partnerships, like common pool resources, have unclear systems of involvement, benefit sharing, and access. Roe et al (2000: iv), observes that it is difficult to ascertain the efficacy and effectiveness of partnerships in delivering benefits to local communities, except through continuous evaluation of the applicability of the paradigm of partnerships in local settings. Equally difficult, notes Lindberg (1991:25), is developing an efficient, equitable, and sustainable benefit channelling mechanism. Honey (1999:87) further notes that while there is much facile talk about "private-public partnership, finding an equitable balance between the public and private sectors remains one of the unresolved challenges". What is responsible for this scepticism? Does it have something to do with the dynamism of the concepts, variance in resource ownership/management regimes, or shifts in policy at global, national, regional, and local levels or local people capacity? Despite the scepticism, private/community partnerships are growing, not only in Kenya, but also in Africa and other parts of the world (Roe et al 2001:1). However, it remains unclear what form and structure these partnerships have taken and whether the relationship is in any way participatory and beneficial to host communities. Eselenkei will be analysed against the backdrop of the scepticism about partnerships between private investors and communities to determine how participatory it is and its efficacy in delivering benefits to the community while addressing issues of common pool resources.

With the concepts gaining currency among tourism practitioners, it is also important, to establish their efficacy at bridging the disconnect between revenues generated from tourism and destination development. Private /public partnerships are supposed to deliver benefits to host communities, contribute to conservation of resources and support community development needs at international, national and local levels. Is having a partnership equivalent to bringing benefits to community? There is need to evaluate whether what is perceived as benefits at concept level amounts to the same at local

settings. Equally important will be an understanding how communities embrace partnerships, their interpretation and expectations, and whether these partnerships impose 'new' responsibilities and demands on community and how these 'new' responsibilities are executed. What is the cost of this change and how is it accounted for? Since this is a fairly new area of research besides traditional tourism, this study is exploratory.

1.2 Significance of Study

Since the advent of the sustainable development paradigm, tourism has received attention from new areas particularly from conservationists and developmentalists. A result of this has been the emergence of concepts that combine conservation ideals, social development, and economics to create sustainable tourism models. Common to these concepts is the emphasis on the need for community participation in tourism ventures and resource conservation. The core idea behind these concepts is increased benefits to community to encourage sustainable use of resources and propel local development. Over the last decade, these new forms of tourism have grown; in particular ecotourism has been singled out as being the fastest growing sector of the tourism industry.

It is one thing to acknowledge the inherent characteristics of sustainable tourism models, which makes them ideal models for equitable benefit sharing at local levels; it is completely a different matter to have an understanding of the means through which benefits are generated, channelled, and shared among local communities. This should be a concern in an industry that is mainly private sector driven with minimal government regulation. This study will establish the importance of private/community partnerships, the extent of community participation and what progress has been realised through the partnerships and the tourism venture. Such an analysis will shed some light on the potential of tourism to impact on economies of host communities. The question is whether effective community participation and private/community partnerships can contribute to improved distribution of benefits and foster rural development.

A number of studies have been undertaken on the subject of ecotourism in Kenya. The focus ranges from the performance of the country as a destination to case studies that review performance of specific operations/places vis a vis ecotourism principles. (Oketch and Bob, 2009) in a study of 'Sustainable tourism in Kenya', present an overview of the practice in Kenya focusing on Masai Mara and Amboseli. They look at visitor attitudes, facility ownership and management and benefit sharing regimes. Courtney (2009) in a study of Olare Orok conservancy in Masaimara, examines the extent to which the conservancy model conforms to ecotourism. In a comparative study of Il Ngwesi and Sweet waters Game ranch, (Mwakima: 2006), looks at opportunities and constraints towards sustainable ecotourism in private and community ranches. Richards (2006), in a study on Ecotourism in Kenya, undertook a comparative study of Il Ngwesi lodge, Amboseli Porini camp and Shompole lodge. Her studies focused on the extent to which these lodges can be described as practicing ecotourism. These studies focus more on impacts of the sustainable tourism models, including ecotourism and less on concept as a participatory model. None of the studies looks at ecotourism as a private/public partnership, where host should be equal partners in the ecotourism venture.

Outcomes of this study could contribute towards improvement of existing models of sustainable tourism, including ecotourism, to make them more participatory and equitable. It could further serve to inform stakeholders to better evaluate the efficacy of private/public partnerships in tourism and awaken them on the need to empower host communities to negotiate equitable partnerships. Since the object of the study is the conservancy, the outcomes will trigger new interests in the conservancy model as a means for redistribution of tourism benefits and as a measure community support for conservation. Overall, understanding the partnership could provide insights on opportunities and challenges in addressing disconnect between rising tourism revenues and poverty among host communities.

1.3 Objectives of Study

The broad objective is to explore the efficacy of the Eselenkei/ Porini partnership in redistributing tourism benefits to Eselenkei Group Ranch

The specific objectives for this study are:

1. To understand the context under which the partnership was set up
2. To understand the process of conceptualisation, planning, execution of the partnership.
3. To explore the motivation to enter into a partnership for Eselenkei members
4. To understand expectations of Eselenkei members of the partnership
5. To explore the challenges encountered in setting up the partnership by the partners
6. To discover factors that may affect the efficacy of the partnership

1.4 Research Questions

This research attempts to address the following key questions:

1. In what context was the Eselenkei partnership developed?
2. Did the context impact on the development of the partnership
3. What defines the partnership agreement?
4. How is the partnership redistributing tourism benefits?

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review creates a framework for evaluating private/community partnerships within the broader agenda of tourism, development, and community participation in tourism in Kenya, with general international references.

2.1 Overview of Kenya's Tourism Industry

Travel and tourism have been an important of the Kenya economy since independence. Today tourism accounts for 30% of GDP and more than 7% on total employment. In 2002, tourism and travel accounted for close to 20% of total export earnings (Ikiara&Okech, 2006). The sector is largely owned and driven by private investors with the role of public sector (government) increasingly shifting to regulatory and facilitatory functions (Ikiara&Okech 2006). This shift is partly a result of substantial public divestiture from the sector in the 1990s and the growth of micro enterprises focused on wildlife tourism and driven by family investments. This move saw the dominance of coastal tourism decline in the late 1990s. Griffith (1995) observes that by 2000 wildlife tourism accounted for 50% of tourism compared to 20% in mid 1980s.

Except for effects of political instability, threats of terrorism and global economic recessions, tourism in Kenya has been on an upward trend since independence. According to Ikiara and Okech (2006), visitor numbers increased at an average annual rate of 7.6% between 1965 and 1998, to reach 894,300 visitors. The growth was rapid in the 1960s reaching 36.2% annually over 1965-1970. The 1990s recorded some of the lowest growth rates. Between 1995 and 1998 the sector registered a negative growth of -1.5% for arrivals and -19.6 for tourism revenue. Since 1999, Kenya's tourism has been on a recovery path mainly due to aggressive marketing by the Kenya Tourist Board.

Kenya' *Vision 2030 Midterm Plan* and the Ministry of Tourisms' "*National Tourism Plan*" places a high priority on tourism development, investment and diversification. Vision 2030 recognizes the important national contributions made by the sector and lists it

as one of the pillars that will drive the country towards realizing the goals of the vision (GoK-Vision 2030). Apart from significant contributions to GDP and employment, the Tourism sector has high multiplier effects as its growth stimulates further development in other sectors and activities e.g. transportation, agriculture, communication, infrastructure, and manufacturing.

Regionally, Kenya remains a major player in Africa's Tourism. "In 2007 it was second to South Africa in terms of international visitor arrivals in Sub-Saharan Africa". In terms of competitiveness, Kenya in 2009 ranked 5th in Sub-Saharan Africa in the World Economic Forum for Travel and Tourism competitive index. International arrivals showed a steady increase from 2002 to 2007. There was a decline in 2008 against the political instability in the country and the general deterioration of world economics. However, there was a steady revival of numbers during the first nine months of 2009.

2.1.1 Tourism Policy Framework in Kenya

A wide range of policy, legal frameworks, regulations and institutions are relevant to the management of tourism in Kenya (see table 1). However, the key legislation that have governed tourism management in Kenya since independence is the Sessional paper no. of 10 and the Tourism licensing Act.

Table 1- Legislation relevant to management of Tourism in Kenya

| Policy | Relevant sections | Comments/ Provisions |
|---|--------------------------|---|
| Tourism Act 2011 | All | This is a relatively new Act that is yet to be implemented. Its implementation will see a near revolution of tourism governance in Kenya. Its significant provisions are the creation of a tourism fund and research institute. |
| The tourism Industry Licensing Act- Cap 381 | All | Raise revenue for government while controlling investments to ensure sustainable growth. Repealed in Tourism Act 2011 |
| The KTDC Act - Cap 382 | All | Provide funds for tourism investments. Affirmative action to encourage Kenyans to invest in tourism. Repealed in Tourism Act 2011 |

| | | |
|--|---|--|
| The Hotel Accommodation Act- Cap 478 | All | Repealed in Tourism Act 2011 |
| The Hotel & Restaurants Act- Cap 494 | All | Repealed in Tourism Act 2011 |
| Kenya National Tourism Development Master Plan- 1995 | All | Better spatial distribution of tourists to relieve existing destinations of stress and minimize environmental degradation. Tourism diversification for sustainable development |
| Kenya Community Based Tourism Framework 2009 | All | Increase community participation in tourism through government support. |
| Constitution of Kenya | Section 69, a, c & f | <p>Sustainable exploitation, utilization, management and conservation of the environment and natural resources, and ensure the equitable sharing of the accruing benefits (69a),</p> <p>Public participation in the management, protection and conservation of the environment (69c)</p> <p>Environmental impact assessment and environmental audit for the monitoring of development activities (69f),</p> <p>Environmental and natural resources utilization for the benefit of the people of Kenya.</p> |
| Kenya vision 2030 | The overall aim of Vision 2030 to ensure a nation that has a clean, secure and sustainable environment by 2030 (GoK, 2007) | Recognition that the tourism sector is one of the key economic drivers for Vision 2030. |
| National Draft Policy on Environment | "All people enjoy a better quality of life without compromising the quality of life of future generations through sustainable management of environment and natural resources". | <p>Inter and intra-generational equity in the use of environmental assets</p> <p>Application of the public participation principle in environmental planning and management.</p> <p>Application of the precautionary principle in the use of environmental</p> |

| | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---|
| | | <p>Application of the polluter and user pays principle in the use of environmental assets</p> <p>International cooperation in environmental management</p> |
| National Land Policy (2009) | <p>Vision - "To guide the country towards efficient, sustainable and equitable use of land for prosperity and posterity".</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing a good instrument for efficient and sustainable utilization and management of land and land based resources as prescribed in Section 96(e). • Providing a participatory framework for public participation in the development of land use and spatial plans as prescribed in Section 96(0- • Providing a good strategy for implementation of cluster settlements for easier provision of infrastructure and to stop uncontrolled subdivision of land as prescribed in Section 106(b). • Providing a good strategy for conservation and sustainable management of land based natural resources by facilitating the preparation of participatory environmental action plans by communities and individuals living near environmentally sensitive areas in order to take into account cultural and socio economic as prescribed in Section 131(a). • Encouraging the development of a sustainable conservancy and involving local communities and individuals next to national protected areas in the co-management of such areas in accordance with Section 131 (c). • Providing a zoning scheme as mitigation against environmental degradation in accordance with Section 135(b). • Ensuring that environmental impact assessments and audits are carried |

| | | |
|-----------------|---|--|
| | | out on all proposed projects, programs and activities on land that have a likelihood to degrade the environment as required in Section 141(a). |
| Wildlife Policy | Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1975 entitled " <i>A Statement on Future Wildlife Management Policy in Kenya</i> ". This policy was reviewed in 2007, to provide a framework for conserving, in perpetuity, Kenya's rich diversity of species, habitats and ecosystems for the well being of its people and the global community (GoK, 2007b). | Section 6.1 of new wildlife policy (2011) on Community Wildlife Conservation which encourages wildlife management partnerships between relevant government agencies, private sector, NGOs and communities. |

Source: Researcher & Mwaura (2010)

2.1.2 Tourism Institutional Framework

As observed above, the government role in tourism has been reduced to a regulatory and facilitator role over the years. This role of government is best observed by the nature of key government institutions that support the tourism industry. These institutions include the following:

Table 2: Public Institutions, Organizations, and Associations Relevant to the Tourism Sector in Kenya

| PUBLIC SECTOR INSTITUTION | MANDATE | ADMINISTRATIVE OVERSIGHT |
|---|---|---------------------------------|
| Kenya Tourist Board | Coordinate and support marketing of destination Kenya in collaboration with private sector | Ministry of Tourism |
| Kenya Tourism Development Corporation (KTDC) | Financing, through loans, development and upgrading on tourism facilities | Ministry of Tourism |
| Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) | Parastatal overseeing wildlife conservation and management | Ministry of Forestry & Wildlife |
| Bomas of Kenya (BOK) | Promote cultural tourism | Ministry of Tourism |
| Kenya Utalii College | Human Resource Development for the hospitality Industry | Ministry of Tourism |
| Catering & Tourism Development Trustees (CTDLT) | Collecting catering levy and distributing and developing training standards for the tourism industry. | Ministry of Tourism |
| Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC) | Host MICE secretariat and promote conference tourism | Ministry of Tourism |

Source: Researcher

As the government role diminished to a regulator, and without a policy to guide the rapidly expanding sector, the private sector in Kenya embraced the concept of self-regulation by establishing various institutions to regulate their operations/activities and to protect the resources upon which tourism is dependent. Key private sector institutions include:

Table 3: Private Sector Associations and Civil Society Organisations in Tourism & Conservation

| Organisation | Mandate | Status |
|--|---|--|
| Kenya Association of Tour Operators (KATO) | Leading tourism trade association representing tour operators | Voluntary membership association funded through membership subscriptions |
| Kenya Association of Travel Agents (KATA) | National organization comprised of mainly IATA agents operating in Kenya | Operates under the framework of Universal Federation of Travel Agents' Association (UFTAA) |
| Eco-Tourism Kenya formerly Ecotourism Society of Kenya (ESOK) | Promote ecotourism and sustainable tourism practices in Kenya | Voluntary membership society with open membership to individuals, community-based organizations, tour operators, camps, lodges and hotels and corporate organizations involved in sustainable technologies/products/services |
| Kenya Association of Housekeepers and Caterers (KAHC) | Voluntary umbrella organization bringing together hotels, lodges, restaurants, membership clubs, and prominent airline caterers and acts as link between these organisations and the tourism labour market. It is responsible for CBAs between employees and employers. | Membership association representing registered hotel, lodge, restaurant, caterer, or establishment carrying out the business of hotel keeping or catering |
| Pub, Entertainment and Restaurant Association of Kenya (PERAK) | The most recently registered association in tourism that brings together pubs, entertainment, and restaurants in Kenya. It works in improve standards, observe law and help government to regulate the industry | Membership association |
| Mombasa Coastal Tourism Association (MCTA) | Providing a single voice for coast based operators, incorporating both tour operators and hotels. Promoting the region as safe destination and lobbying for favourable government | Membership association consisting of all business involved in the tourism sector, primarily in the Kenya coast. It is funded by membership contributions. |

| | | |
|---|---|----------------------------------|
| | policies to support tourist traffic within the coastal region | |
| Kenya Tourism Federation (KTF) | Umbrella organization for all tourism organizations, funded by contributions from members. A member of KEPSA. | Membership organization |
| Kenya Association of Local Tour Operators (KALTO) | Tourism trade association representing local/indigenous tour operators (SMEs) | Voluntary membership Association |

Source: Researcher & World Bank

These industry associations are membership-based with defined codes of conduct that ensure ethical and sustainable practices are upheld. They are linked together under the Kenya Tourism Federation (KTF), which is the single voice through which the industry engages with the government. In return, KTF is represented in the Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA), the national private sector lobby organisation.

2.1.3 Conservation & Tourism

Kenya's tourism industry has a long history of association with conservation. Sindiga (1995) observes that a significant proportion of Kenya's tourism is wildlife based. According to Norton-Griffith and Southey (1995), wildlife tourism accounts for nearly 50% of Kenya's tourism. The economic significance of conservation to tourism is highlighted by findings of a study by Griffith and Southey (1995). They observe that tourism in Kenya stagnated between 1985 & 1989. This is the same period that Kenya experienced highest rates of poaching that almost decimated Kenya's wildlife, especially the elephant and rhino.

The association is so strong, both in reality and perception, to the extent that the term conservation, for many local communities, is synonymous with wildlife conservation. This is probably the case because wildlife was among earliest to be legislated. As early as the late 19th century, the Imperial British East African Company (IBEAC) imposed a license on ivory hunters, specifically targeting the white hunters. The purpose was to

control a potential decimation of wildlife through the lucrative ivory trade (Kabiri, 2010). The protectorate government saw hunting as an easy way of securing revenue.

Conservation areas in Kenya, also known as protected areas is characterised by state land set aside as parks, reserves, forests and wetlands. As a general rule, these lands remain undeveloped except for controlled use and non-use values such as tourism, non-timber harvesting in forests, watershed and erosion protection, catchment protection, nutrient recycling and carbon sequestration. Other non-use values are concerned with existence, cultural and aesthetic values (Norton Griffith, Southey C, 1995).

National parks stand out as main identities of conservation in Kenya. They were also the early face of wildlife-based tourism. Sindiga (1995) observes that National parks are essentially state lands, which, are managed exclusively for the conservation of fauna and flora. Among the objectives are to preserve these re sources for aesthetic, scientific and cultural reasons; to provide educational and recreational facilities; to provide attractions for tourists and serve as a major basis for the economically profitable tourist industry; and to sustain such other activities as commercial photography and to act as water catchments. Certain activities, in particular cultivation, pastoralism, timber harvesting and consumptive wildlife utilisation (sport hunting, live animal capture, cropping for meat and trophies, and game ranching) are excluded from national parks. Conceived as incomplete ecosystems, these parks straddle former community lands that were used for livestock keeping and pastoralism. The parks, while serving a conservation purpose and supporting tourism remain debated for their efficacy in driving economic growth given that they are highly subsidised by the state and voluntary financing.

When it comes to legislating tourism, the government of Kenya has been inconsistent on the place of tourism as an economic activity. Despite acknowledging the key role played by tourism towards the Gross National Product (GDP), the Ministry of Tourism has always been tagged together with forestry, wildlife, natural resources, or environment. This has resulted in tourism having a large number of stakeholders all with divergent interests. The assumption has been that the tagging was meant to consolidate

opportunities for growth of tourism by tapping into other areas like forestry, and using the profit motive in tourism to push for conservation of wetlands and water catchment areas. Despite the tagging, legislation governing these water, wildlife, forests, and wetlands has never been harmonised. The newly enacted Tourism Act 2011 has no reference to the draft Wildlife Bill that has been pending cabinet approval since 2005. Kabiri (2010) argues that control for the wildlife governance in Kenya has never been informed by local level actors living with wildlife, but rather by macro-political exigencies, namely the desire to use wildlife to swell up national coffers and benefit those close the system.

Despite the association between tourism and conservation, the two have not always seen policies related to wildlife in the same light. The driving force / objectives of each have been behind the positions taken on policy. While tourism is profit driven, conservation is seen as working for the public good. The greatest contest between tourism and conservation in Kenya has been the debate on consumptive utilisation of wildlife, in particular hunting, and how much tourism should pay for use of ecosystem (ecosystem payment services). The 1997 ban on consumptive utilisation of wildlife, through limited spot hunting, was supported by the tourism industry and Animal rights groups. However, private conservationists, hosting wildlife on their land were opposed to this move. It removed the last opportunity that private conservationists had to utilise wildlife (Kabiri, 2010).

The debate on consumptive utilisation of wildlife remains unresolved since 1977, and opposing groups cling to the same arguments they had in 1977. Those arguing for a stay of the ban on hunting contend that fears of state that led to ban remain relevant today hence any move to re-introduce utilisation would decimate Kenya's wildlife. Those in favour of consumptive forms of utilisation argue that wildlife must pay for its existence and that those who bear the brunt of living with wildlife should enjoy direct benefits. Also always contested are entry fees to parks and reserves. The tourism industry has always resisted increases in entry fees. Their arguments point to low investment in infrastructure by management authorities, which, they see as not commensurate with entry fees. They

are accused of failing to put a value on wildlife as a resource and benefiting from wildlife than conservation (parks/reserves) and host communities.

Table 4: Civil Society Organisations Supporting Community Based Tourism and Conservation in Community Areas

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| Kenya Community Based Tourism Network (KECOBAT) | Umbrella organization for CBTS. | Membership organization promoting community based tourism (policy) |
| Federation of Community Based Tourism Organisations (FECTO) | Umbrella organization for community based tourism initiatives (CBTs) | Membership organization working to increase market access for CBTs |
| Kenya Association of Wildlife Conservation Support organisations (KA WCSO) | Yet to be registered - Fronting for one voice for civil society and NGOs in conservation | Membership organization of conservation organisations |
| Kenya Rangelands Coalition (KRC) | Association bringing together rangeland communities to support pastoralism & wildlife conservancies | Advocacy organization fighting for rights of pastoral communities |
| Kenya Land Conservation Trust (KLCT) | Working with rangeland communities and ranches to increase conservation estate. Focusing on easement and conservancies | |

Source: Researcher

2.1.4 Post-colonial Tourism Development and Planning in Kenya

The post-colonial tourism planning and development policies in Kenya have been described as laissez-faire, ad-hoc and inconsistent due to lack of vision and comprehensive strategy (Western 1992:7 & 21, Honey 1999:295, Odunga 2005:7). The effect of this was that multinationals and foreign investors took control of the tourism industry at all levels and engaged in speculative investment that led to spatial concentration of the country's tourism and hospitality facilities in a few locations and alienation of a majority of the population from participating and sharing in tourism benefits.

Akama (1999: 15 & 22) observes that in post-colonial Kenya, the nature and structure of tourism development shifted drastically from small-scale public and private tourism enterprises to the establishment of large-scale tourism projects financed by external multi-national tourism investors. This was the result of government efforts to diversify sources of foreign exchange in the wake of fall in prices of agricultural commodities, tea and coffee included, in world markets. The government undertook specific and deliberate policy initiatives to promote rapid expansion of tourism. Key among the government initiatives to develop tourism was the creation of KTDC in 1965 and Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife in 1966. Others included policies that allowed for profit repatriation by foreign investors and tax exemptions. These efforts, it was envisaged would lead to an increase in international tourist numbers and in effect increased foreign exchange, a commodity Kenya, as a young nation, needed to facilitate economic growth and job creation (Akama, 1999:14).

The need to attract more visitors and raise the much needed foreign exchange while creating jobs became the basis of formulation of subsequent tourism development policy in which emphasis was on propelling growth in terms of arrivals (Odunga, 2005:43). Akama and Odunga seem to agree that distribution of benefits and protection of tourism destinations were not given attention in post-colonial tourism planning leading to gradual degradation of destinations and discontent among local populations. However their analysis of benefits is broad and generalised, ignoring the uniqueness of approaches, business partnerships, relationships and resource ownership and/or management regimes. How far this trend has impacted on the Eselenkei partnership is of interest to this study

Both Akama and Odunga imply that Kenya's post independent government drew a strong connection between foreign exchange and economic growth for the young nation. Tourism was promoted both as a short-term and long-term strategy for development because of its ability to impact on GDP by raising foreign exchange. The country required to attract large numbers of tourists to increase foreign exchange earnings, hence emphasis on numbers. By late 1990s, Kenya wanted to reach the million visitors mark and the government began to strategize on new ways to market the country (Green,

1999:97). The numbers would impact on GDP and help Kenya achieve her development goals. For these same reasons, tourism is identified in Vision 2030 as one of the pillars to propel Kenya towards a developed country by 2030. Despite the recognition, little emerges from the approaches on how tourism practice will be undertaken to support development. Yet for development to take place, growth must be accompanied by participation and distribution.

Akama (1999:17) observes that the success of tourism development must not be measured just in terms of increased number of tourist arrivals and gross tourism revenues, but should also be evaluated according to how the industry is integrated into local and regional economy, and how the industry benefits local communities at the grassroots level. According to (WTO 2004:7), rural poverty persists in majority of tourist destinations in developing countries in contradiction to revenues generated by tourism. Despite identifying elemental attributes of tourism that make it infallible for rural development, WTO falls short of naming/identifying models of tourism- induced development. Are conservancies, private/community partnerships appropriate models of tourism induced development and do they provide for participation and distribution?

2.1.5 Measuring Tourism Performance

For governments tourism means economic activities, revenues, employment, per capita expenditure and perhaps development (Sindiga 1990:10). In Kenya, indicators used by government economists to assess the general performance of the tourism industry in Kenya have had to do with gross earnings arising from the number of arrivals, bed occupancy, employment and average length of stay (Odunga, 2005:46, GOK, 2003:9 &11). Similarly, tourism development strategies have not deviated from use of these indicators in making projections and evaluating future performance of the sector (Vision 2030). Such is the obsession with numbers and revenues that critical issues like effects of potential leakages of foreign exchange on GNP and lack of participation of local people in tourism are ignored. Again mechanisms for distribution both at national and local levels are not analysed as well as levels of involvement by locals in tourism. The survey

of Eselenkei could highlight new indicators that could be useful in evaluating the efficacy of tourism in bringing development to rural areas, particularly in terms of participation, benefit sharing and natural resource management.

Table 5: Tourism Earnings in Kenya 2000-2011

| Year | Earnings |
|-------------|-----------------|
| 2000 | 283 |
| 2003 | 347 |
| 2005 | 579 |
| 2007 | 934 |
| 2009 | 892 |

Note- figures in millions of US\$

Source GoK 2011: Honey 2008

2.1.6 Community Participation in Tourism

Before the 1990s little attention was paid to community participation in tourism. Thereafter, concepts such as ecotourism, Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM), Community Based Wildlife Management (CBWM) and Community based tourism that highlighted the need for community participation in tourism emerged (Roe et al, 2000: iii, Wolmer E & Caroline Ashley, 2003: 31). In Kenya, Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli are noted as being early experiments to involve local communities in tourism, through local authority management (Honey, 1999:308). In other parts of Africa, the Zimbabwe CAMPFIRE (Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources) is seen as an innovative approach to wildlife management, which placed the responsibility for wildlife use, and management in the hands of the local community (Sibanda, 2001:18). However, both Martha and Sibanda are sceptical of the ability of the programs to deliver benefits to local communities. Equally sceptical of Kenyan experiments is Reid (1999:60), who sees national goals conflicting with, and impacting on, local lifestyles in these experiments. It is worth finding out whether the Eselenkei community have overcome the fears, mistrust

and other factors perceived to have impact on local people participation in tourism. Whether Eselenkei fits the broad criteria of any of the new forms of tourism and whether or not its establishment and operations are participatory is what this study will try to unravel.

2.2 Private/Public Partnerships

PPPs originally emerged as a response to challenges of meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Donor agencies emphasised the fact that aid agencies do not make money, businesses do. The partnership paradigm was easily embraced by both the Western and African leaders (Russen, 2004).

Private/Public partnerships (PPPs) can be described as working arrangements based on mutual agreement between a public sector organisation with any other organisation outside the public sector (Bovaird,2004). Since becoming fashionable over 25 years ago, the concept of PPPs remains contested and debates abound on which PPPs are appropriate for which tasks and how to manage PPPs to increase public value (Bovaird, 2004). However, PPPs are now found in the public domain in many countries around the world and numbers have been increasing in the recent years. According to Selky& Parker (2005), project based cross-sector partnerships that address social issues occur in four 'arenas'

- Business & non profit
- Business & government
- Government & non-profit
- Tri-sector

The tourism industry was not left behind in embracing partnership. However, early forms of partnerships as expressed by international organisations such as the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) and the Earth Council in their collective response to Agenda 21 in early 1990s did not recognise the important position of local communities. Emphasis was put on information exchange between government departments, tourism authorities and private sector to facilitate

adopting of more sustainable procedures and to operate in an environmentally sustainable manner, and to encourage responsible entrepreneurship (Russen, 2004)

The declarations of the International Year of Ecotourism (IYE) in 2002, and the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), both highlighted partnerships as providing the greatest opportunity to conservation of natural resources. They envisioned partnerships where the natural, human, and financial capital of the world's people can contribute to the conservation of natural and cultural resources. The Cairns Charter on Partnerships for Ecotourism, launched in Australia in 2002, is perhaps the best embodiment of PPPs as envisioned by IYE and WSSD declarations. According the Cairns Charter, to be successful, ecotourism partnerships should:

- enter into partnerships voluntarily;
- respect each partners aspirations and accommodate each other operational requirements, including respect for social and cultural values;
- work together to ensure partnerships benefit natural areas in which ecotourism occurs
- commit to collaborate, share knowledge and adapt individual goals and objectives for the good of the partnership;
- actively participate in partnership and establish regular, clear, open communication strategies;
- establish equal access to all parties to expertise and resources necessary to become full participants in the partnership;
- value each parties contribution to the partnership- acknowledging tradition inputs such as financial capital; and less tangible factors such as intellectual property; and
- work together in a transparent planning process to define milestones, monitor performance and periodically re-evaluate goals and objectives, as flexible response to the dynamic nature of partnerships

(Adopted from Russen, 2004)

According to the Charter, the foundation for a partnership is the sharing of skills and resources in order to plan for and deliver successful ecotourism in practice.

Partnerships in tourism take many forms, with varying degrees of involvement by participating stakeholders. At macro-level, private-public partnerships are aimed at maximising economic and managerial efficiency while protecting the resources upon which tourism is dependent. Such is the case with partnerships advocated by leading global tourism organisations (WTO, 2005:1, WTO 2004:3, UNCED 1995:40). The partnerships articulated by these organisations are macro-level collaborative partnerships that are more oriented at persuading governments to give attention to tourism and to work with all relevant national and international agencies to harness the potential of the sector. While these partnerships aim at achieving development through tourism, they do not address the key issues of benefit sharing and local people participation in tourism.

At micro-level however, partnerships are a new phenomena and they seem to be more than just collaborations (Roe et al 2002:1, ESOK, 2004:4). In Namibia for example, it is assumed that cooperative ventures between local communities and private sector are means by which tourism can benefit both parties (Roe et al, 2002:1). In Kenya, the Ecotourism Society of Kenya (ESOK) reports that private/community partnerships are on the increase since the mid 1990s (ESOK, 2004: 4). However, it is not clear what stimulated the growth of private/community partnerships in tourism. ESOK (2004:4) further observes that policy has not played a role in the growth of such partnerships nor is the role of government explicit. What is certain is that there are a growing number of such partnerships but there is little detail about their structure and efficacy in directing tourism benefits to local populations. ESOK also states that there are variations in the creation of partnerships (ESOK: 2004:4). It has been observed that these variations are dictated by land ownership regimes and access to resources.

2.3 The Conservancy Concept in Kenya

Many conservancies have recently been introduced in Kenya especially in the arid and semi-arid areas (ASALs) which are home to over 9.9 million people, (approximately 34% of the country's population), with up to 60% of the nation's livestock, 75% of its wildlife and account for more than 80% of the country's eco-tourism interests, (RoK 2007a). Recent studies indicate that wildlife numbers in Kenya have declined by up to 38% in the ASALs. Non-migratory wildlife in the world famous Mara National Reserve has, for example, declined by 58% between 1977 and 1997 (Wakhungue/ *al.* 2010). Wildlife populations in Tsavo East and West declined by 63% between 1977 and 2000, and by 78% in Meru during the same time frame (Wakhungue/ *al.* 2010).

II Ngwesi Group Ranch is among the first community conservancies to be established in Northern Kenya. Its evolution has become a learning point for many conservancies, giving prominence to tourism based conservancies. II ngwesi is owned and managed by a limited company with a majority shareholding through the group ranch (Mwaura 2006). The intervention attempts to integrate Maasai indigenous skills and culture into ecotourism and conservation. The II Ngwesi conservancy model successful is delivery social services and wildlife conservation

The II Ngwesi ecotourism project has established a cultural boma that provides an avenue for marketing local crafts and culture and employed 31 people (17 men and 14 women). In 2005 II Ngwesi project in collaboration with Borana Ranch and Laikipia Wildlife Forum established mobile clinic services throughout the area. This free service has greatly improved the delivery of health services in the area and improved the level of health at the community level (Mwaura 2006). The records from the Borana Mobile Clinic show that the level of diarrhoea, pneumonia and malaria decreased slightly probably due to improved water supply and distribution of mosquito nets although this needs to be confirmed from the 2007 records. The Group Ranch Education Support Scheme was also established with income from the lodge and it has supported a large

number of beneficiaries through provision of bursaries for secondary and college education including international exchange (Mwaura 2006).

II Ngwesi has also had success with wildlife programs. In 2001, a pilot programme by the Laikipia Wildlife Forum (LWF) enabled the first black rhino to be reintroduced into II Ngwesi Group Ranch. Currently, II Ngwesi has three rhinos and is one of the few areas in Sub-Saharan Africa where the local communities are mandated to protect an endangered species (Mwaura 2006).

Riding on the perceived success of II Ngwesi, establishment of conservancies has become popular in many parts of the country in the recent decade. The Northern Rangelands Trust (NRT) manages 17 conservancies in the Laikipia, Isiolo and Samburu region alone. These conservancies have a total coverage of about 8,300 km² and include a mix of private and communal conservancies. The Mara region has not been left behind. Conservancies in this area cover an area of approximately 153,380 ha. The conservancies in Mara employ approximately 743 people, 80% of whom are community members. In the Masai Mara area, conservancies have been developed under two regimes. There are those that are operated within the group ranch form of land tenure. (E.g. OlchoroOruwa, Maji Moto and Olerkesi). The rest are operated under leasehold regime with several hundred landowners consolidating their parcels to form conservancies. Examples of these include OIKinyei, Olareorok, and Naboisho Conservancies.

The South Rift has also seen the establishment of mostly communal conservancies in the Magadi area, which exceed 150,000 ha. This includes the Shompole group ranch which is located the Kenya-Tanzania border and hosts the up-market Shompole community lodge. In the Central Rift area, conservancies, under the Nakuru Wildlife Conservancies (NWC), cover an estimated 350,000 acres stretching between Lake Nakuru and Mount Longonot.

The Amboseli region also has several communal conservancies covering an area of approximately 300,000 ha within group ranches such as Kimana, Mbirikani, Kuku, Eselenkei and Kilitome. The Tsavo and coastal region also has several conservancies with coverage of up to 100,000 ha including Mwaluganje, and Lumo conservancies.

The existing conservancies in Kenya are playing a significant role in wealth creation among pastoral communities around the country through direct incomes to landowners. In 2009, the revenue from Kalama Conservancy in Samburu District, for example totalled more than \$70,000 from which 60% was used to fund community projects such as school bursaries and water projects while 40% was used to fund annual operating costs of the conservancy (NRT, 2011). Similarly, the year 2000 revenue in Namunyak Conservancy from the Sarara Camp in the same district alone totalled more than \$90,600 while additional revenue to the conservancy from the Kitich Camp is anticipated to reach \$30,000 by 2011 (NRT,2011). Elsewhere, the Mara conservancies are generating Ksh 177 million annually to about 1,511 members out of which 1,447 of the members have signed long term leases to conservancies for wildlife management, tourism development and regulated livestock production (Basecamp Foundation, 2011). The Mara conservancies currently employ 87 scouts and 20 operating camps.

In Mara Naboisho Conservancy, for example, the landowners receive a monthly income of approximately Kshs. 10,000 as direct income for the land they have leased to the conservancy. This translates into an income of approximately Kshs. 5 million per month or Kshs. 60 million per annum as direct benefits for 500 landowners (Basecamp Foundation, 2011). Aside from this, the communities around the conservancies are gaining access to improved health services, borehole water supply, and other social services. Consequently, the conservancy model has attracted the interest and attention of key donors in Kenya including the World Bank (World Bank 2010).

On average, conservancies contribute close to 4% of Kenya's conservation estate. This steady growth of conservancies, in the absence of a legal framework, is an indicator that the conservancy model is acceptable to many pastoral communities whose areas are also

attractive for tourism. Despite showing this great potential, there is no clear recognition of conservancies at policy, legal and institutional level. None of the many policies and legislations that may have a bearing on conservancy formation and operation has effectively considered the issue of tourism development in conservancies, benefit generation and sharing, governance and management among other issues. The only legal framework that comes close to such recognition is the draft Wildlife (Conservation and Management) Bill 2007 that, makes provision for a new category of protected area called "Community Wildlife Conservation Areas and Sanctuaries." (Wildlife (Conservation and Management Bill 2007). Notably, the envisaged legislation only alludes to a conservancy but does not explicitly recognise these entities.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODS

3.1 Site Description

Eselenkei Group Ranch, the focus of this study, is located in Kajiado County. Kajiado County is one of the seventeen districts of the former Rift valley province. It is located in the southern part of the Rift Valley, and is referred to in tourism circuits as the South Rift Circuit. It is bordered by Tanzania to the South-West, Taita-Taveta district to the South East, Machakos and Makueni districts to the West, Nairobi to the North-East, Kiambu District to the north and Narok district to the West. The district is divided into seven administrative divisions namely; Central Division, Magadi, Isinya, Loitoktok, Mashuru, Namanga and Ngong. The livelihood of the Kajiado population is dominated by livestock production activities, which accounts for 75% of the inhabitants' source of livelihood (GOK: 2005,30).

The district, which covers an area of 21,902.9km², has a bimodal rainfall pattern, receiving two seasons of rainfall between March and May and between September and October. Annual rainfalls are influenced by altitude with areas of high elevation like Loitoktok receiving highest rainfall at 1250mm and areas with lowest altitude like Lake Magadi receiving lowest rainfall recorded at 500mm. Temperatures too vary with altitude and season. Again the lowest temperatures of 10C are recorded at Loitoktok and highest temperatures of 34C recorded in low-lying areas around Lake Magadi. The District does not have adequate surface water resources for livestock and human consumption or irrigation. The district therefore depends on ground water reserves.

In 2005, the District, with a population 464,883, was ranked the richest district with a poverty index of 11.6% (GoK, 2005). It has an urban population of 40% compared to a national average of 32%. The population density varies across the administrative areas.

Kajiado district is unique for its land adjudication system. Of the total land area in Kajiado district, more than 550,000 hectares are held under the Group Ranch system or

the Land Group Representative Act. However, the 1990s has seen an increased clamour for individual title deeds hence sub-division of some Group Ranches.

3.2 Site Selection

A number of factors influence the selection of Eselenkei Group Ranch and Conservancy as study site. They include:

- Its pioneering role of the community conservancy concept
- Perception that it was a successful model of devolving tourism benefits to host communities
- Accessibility to Nairobi and researchers prior interaction with the investor and community

3.3 Research Design

The study was designed as qualitative research because the study is exploratory in nature and public (community) private partnerships in tourism is a relatively new concept.

3.3.1 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the partnership between Eselenkei Group ranch and Porini.

3.3.2 Unit of Observation

The unit of observation is the Eselenkei Group ranch.

3.4 Sample

A sample of more than 100 was targeted to take place in the study. Out of these, 8 were key respondents and the rest members of FGDs. The sample was a convenience one and the snowball approach to sampling was adopted. Key respondents were encouraged to recommend to the researcher other respondents who might articulate views on the partnerships or have special roles in the partnership process. Snowball sampling was further used to reach hard to reach and hidden but significant informants.

3.5 Methods of Data Collection

The researcher interviewed the respondents on two different occasions for between 1-2 hours. All interviews were recorded with the permission of the respondents.

After interviews, the recordings were transcribed. Care was taken by the researcher to retain anonymity where it had been promised.

3.5.1 Key informant interviews

This is an anthropological technique that utilizes rich information sources. Because the partnership was seen as an innovation as well as a 'revolution' in community access to tourism benefits, there were few people in the community who actively participated in the process. In addition, there were those who were first level/direct beneficiaries of the partnership. These two groups and others identified through snowball sampling became the key informants. Therefore, for this study any member of Eselenkei reached for interview became a key informant.

3.5.2 Focus Group Discussions

Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) has been found to be useful in exploratory studies where little is known about the phenomenon. It is a qualitative research tool whose characteristic is the 'explicit use of the group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group' (Morgan, 1988 in Weeden, 2005)

During this study, Group discussions were held with interest groups based on gender, age and social standings. They included women, youth and community leaders that were not part of the Group Ranch management.

More than 100 members of the community were reached through the FGDs. Shortcomings of FGDs like number of people willing to participate and presence of dominant individual among the group of respondents were overcome by allowing respondents to join several different groups.

3.5.3 Observation

Observation technique is commonly used to study dynamic situations or where there is limited knowledge of the topic. It can also be used where there are methodological problems or ethics preclude adoption of other research methods.

This study applied unstructured participant observation to identify infrastructural development within the conservancy. The observations took place while driving within the conservancy to meet informants during the study. All observations were noted and clarity sort during interview sessions.

3.5.4 Case study

Case studies have significant place in exploratory stage of an investigation. The Case study technique was used in this study because it enables the application of rigorous interpretation, combined with reason and logic, providing the researcher with opportunity to obtain place-specific conceptual insights that may be tested for further applicability through further case studies (Betton, 2005).

Further, the features of case study like showing the influence of personalities on an issue, illustrating the complexities of a situation by recognising more than one contributing factors and ability to explain why an innovation worked or failed to work, made the technique appropriate for this study.

3.5.5 Documentary sources

This study was informed by a combination of documentary sources. They included brochures, magazines, the partnership agreement, district development plan, NGO workshop reports, studies on conservancies and Eselenkei.

3.6 Techniques of Data Collection

Being an explorative study, the researcher had no priori theories except for basic guiding questions. The researcher used these questions to gather information from key individuals with whom spontaneous conversations were not possible. Overall, the researcher

employed a casual undirected approach as this best suited the local ways of articulating and transmitting knowledge. The instruments used for data collection included:

3.6.1 Interview schedule Guide

The research adopted a semi structured interview guide. The choice of this tool was informed by the characteristics of the study area. In particular, demographic, cultural, socio-economics, governance, and literacy aspects were considered.

The interview schedule was designed to create rapport and allay fears of abuse of information given by respondents. It contained the following information:

- How to introduce the researcher
- Objectives of the study
- Motivation for the study
- Amount of time required to participate in study
- The questions to be asked

3.6.2 Focus Group Discussion Guide

A FGD guide was developed in advance and pre-tested to ensure it was appropriate for the context and the study. The guide contained the following information:

- **Consent**

All participants were given a chance to consent to participating in the discussions. This was made easy by using the local language. Accent was given by acclamation. Those who declined to participate were allowed to leave or stay but not contribute.

- **Participants**

Grouping participants was significant for this study owing to strong cultural norms that laid boundaries between sexes and age groups among the Maasai.

An estimated 100 people participated in different FGDs in five focus group sessions. The sessions were held with women in a cultural village, men in the

local shopping centre, men at a bicycle repair centre away from shopping centre, girls doing laundry at a watering hole and young Morans bringing cattle to drink water at a cattle trough close to the borehole. In all cases, activities were not adversely interrupted. Communication with informants was made possible through an interpreter.

- **Duration**

The sessions were planned to last between 60-120 minutes.

- **Process**

At the beginning of every session, informants were briefed on objective of the study. This was necessary to build trust. All interviewees were further assured of right to decide what could be included in report and what would remain confidential. The researcher listened to discussions and probed the participants to respond by using open-ended questions.

Guiding questions were developed to help obtain information from respondents. These guiding questions were used to conduct one-on-one unstructured interviews with members of the Group Ranch and to guide focus group discussions. So as not to lead respondents, no mention was made of a partnership in the questions.

- **Documentation**

The use of a tape-recorder and note taking was explained to participants as aiding in the flow of conversations and capturing discussions. Details of sessions were therefore recorded through a tape recorder and notes. These were later transcribed.

- **Locations**

The nomadic lifestyle of the Maasai, and other cultural values were taken into consideration while selecting locations for FGDs. The focus groups were therefore planned to respect norms on age groups, sexes and to fit local lifestyles.

3.7 Ethical Issues Observed

Ethical issues refer to moral principles that a researcher should adhere to when conducting research. The purpose is to protect the respondents from any form of deceit and secure credibility of the research. The study therefore avoided all forms of harm (physical, economic, social-cultural, emotional) to the respondents. This was achieved in four ways:

Informed consent

Through the assistant, the respondents were asked for their consent in participating in the study before they were engaged in any form. No formal signing process was used as the researcher had been advised against this during pre-testing the interview schedule. Apart from misconceptions associated with signing documents low literacy levels was another challenge in using signed consent.

Respect for Confidentiality

Respondents were given an option to remain anonymous or be quoted. Some respondents accepted to participate on basis that they would remain anonymous. This has been respected hence many anonymous quotes in the findings.

Respect for Culture

The study did not expose respondents to cultural abominations by mixing sexes and age sets. Therefore, virtues and values related to gender, age set was observed when putting together FGD groups.

Respect for Space

In order to avoid harm related to respondents moving to specific places, the researcher met the respondents at convenient places. These included cattle watering points, cultural bomas, the camp and trading centre among others.

Pre-testing of Interview Schedule Guide

A pilot testing of the semi-structured interview schedule guide was used with an employee of Amboseli Porini camp, who was not included in final list of respondents. The pilot helped to review questions appropriately and delete questions that were not relevant to the study. This process helped to build the flow of the interview process.

3.8 Data Analysis Methods

The interviews and FGDs were recorded and transcribed. At least six key headings were generated from the data and under these, all data were accounted for. The categories are reported in the findings below.

3.9 Theoretical Model

This study applies sustainable development model as expounded by United Nations, and partnership models in tourism from case studies to create a framework model to guide the study. This link is critical because proponents of private public partnerships in tourism promote partnerships as having potential to catalyse destination development by enjoining host communities in the tourism business leading inclusion, integration in economic development and resource management. These are the same pillars that define sustainable development as envisioned in the 1987 Brundtland Report.

Several theories, such as the theory of Human Basic Needs, could have been applicable to this study. However, it was not applied because the focus of the study is to explore how the presence or absence of certain enabling and intervening characteristics of sustainable development and private public partnership partnerships affect the efficacy of private public partnerships in tourism in delivering tourism benefits and not how or partnerships transform lives of individual members. In addition, because the study is exploratory, using framework models as opposed to theory enabled broader investigation.

Sustainable Development Concept

The shift in development paradigm in early 1990s from extractive and destructive methods to sustainable approaches was an answer to the need for integration of economic development, natural resource management and protection, and social equity and

inclusion as outlined in the 1987 Brundtland Report (Our Common Future). Before this paradigm shift, among other traits, strategies for development were characterised by direct public or private investment and lacked long-term considerations.

Perhaps the most significant face of sustainable development paradigm was the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in 1992, also known as the "Earth Summit" and resulting action blue print for implementations known as *Agenda 21 for Sustainable Development*. Since then there have been international efforts through various Conventions to support Nations to adopt development that reduce negative impacts on the environment while generating maximum benefits for present and future generations through participatory approaches and partnerships.

The paradigm shift not only brought with it a shift in methods of production of goods and services, and attention to negative impacts of development, it also provided opportunities to redefine investment relationships and development strategies towards more participatory, stakeholder-driven approaches including partnerships.

The UN definition of development as "progressive transformation of the economy and society", and sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" aptly summarises the expectations of the new development paradigm. Among other attributes, the following four key attributes of sustainable development can be derived from these definitions namely needs, future, limitations and change.

This study adopts these attributes of development and sustainable development, and expounds on these attributes as a basis on which to understand public/private partnership development in tourism development.

- ***Idea of met needs of economy and society***

This implies that sustainable development must be preceded by a felt need.

The development

- ***Idea of future consideration***

This implies that sustainable development must plan and therefore therefore anticipate the transformative nature of needs and design in such a way that future or anticipated needs are not compromised.

- ***Idea of transformation***

This implies that sustainable development should contribute for positive change in society and economy.

- ***Idea of limitations***

This implies that development should not be undertaken for its own sake, there must be limitations governed by need, future considerations, and transformative opportunities.

Partnerships in Development

One of the outcomes of the paradigm shift towards sustainable approaches to development was the emergence of private public partnerships. In particular, Agenda 21 for Sustainable Development developed in 1992 promoted partnerships, as did the Tourism specific Agenda 21 for Tourism and Travel developed in 1996. These partnerships that were envisioned to be mainly project based, emerged to address a wide range of social, economic and environmental development needs. Russen (2004) observes that Private Public Partnerships also emerged as a response to challenges of meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The idea behind both the approaches is the transformation of society and economies by addressing threats to meeting human needs and tapping opportunities for participatory development.

Within the tourism industry, partnerships as envisioned in the Agenda 21 for Travel and Tourism have become a popular tourism management strategy for several reasons. This study applied the following selected areas in describing characteristics that make partnerships efficient.

- Leveraging scarce resources in an era of fiscal constraints to develop new destinations

- Re-channelling of tourism benefits to destinations through partnerships with local community
- **Generation and sharing of benefits**

According to Selky and Parker (2005), project based cross-sector partnerships that address social issues occur in four 'arenas'

- Business & non-profit
- Business and government
- Government and non-profit
- Tri-sector (business, government and non-profit)

Partnerships between business and non-profit or business and government are referred to as private/public partnerships. Within the tourism industry, the term private public partnerships are used to refer to a joint venture between private sector and community (Roe et al, 2002). This definition is more factual and less descriptive. Bovaird (2004) describes private /public partnerships as working arrangement based on mutual agreement between a public sector organisation with another outside the public sector (Bovaird, 2004). This definition raises the issues of trust, number of parties and mutual agreement in partnerships.

Partnership Enabling & Intervening Characteristics

Selin Steve, (1995), observes that partnerships in tourism begin in a context of complex environmental forces and evolve sequentially through problem setting, direction-setting and structure phases. He further observes that special skills are required to sustain and nurture tourism partnerships. He calls this 'evolutionary partnership model". This study adopted this model because it provides opportunity to evaluate partnership-enabling characteristics as well as intervening characteristics including pre-partnership conditions, partnership formation conditions, and possible outcomes.

The study defines enabling characters of partnerships as those defining features that determine whether the partnership will be sustained over time and whether they deliver expected outputs and outcomes. This involves a look at leadership, structure, vision-focus balance, strategic planning, benefits stability and diversity, benefit sharing and evaluation as some of the key characteristics. Additionally, the framework includes "other" category to represent an array of additional characteristics that may affect a partnership.

Governance / Leadership

This refers to ability of community representative organisation or individual leaders to undertake some of the following:

- Connect with members
- Ability to foster active participation of members
- Ability to negotiate, facilitate discussions and network to foster relationships with members and partners
- Ability to communicate a clear vision
- Ability to manage and account for member resources

Successful leaders should foster the involvement of all stakeholders, and build relationships between partners. A charismatic leader may steer a partnership through difficult times.

Structure

Structure refers to administrative rules in place to facilitate management of the partnership. Specifically it includes governance of the partnership and the organisation resources. Structure may also include documented policies for decision-making and resolution processes. Given that consultations is a defining feature of partnerships, the absence or presence of these structure may affect sustainability and efficacy of the partnership

Strategic Planning

This refers to continuous strategic assessment of goals, activities, priorities and plans for the future. The extent to which partners plan together is an important factor in improves efficacy of the partnership.

Vision

The extent to which members agree on long term goals of the partnership and are committed to pursuing efforts that will move the partnership towards vision will affect the efficacy of the partnership.

Benefits

This refers to financial and non-financial opportunities and values arising from the partnership. Defining benefits through planning helps to manage expectations while reducing suspicion ad conflicts

Benefit stability and diversity

Stability refers to extent to which benefits streams change, while diversity refers to extent to which benefits generated vary to support partnership. Both are important measures of efficacy because partnerships with stable and diverse benefit options are more like to survive.

Evaluation

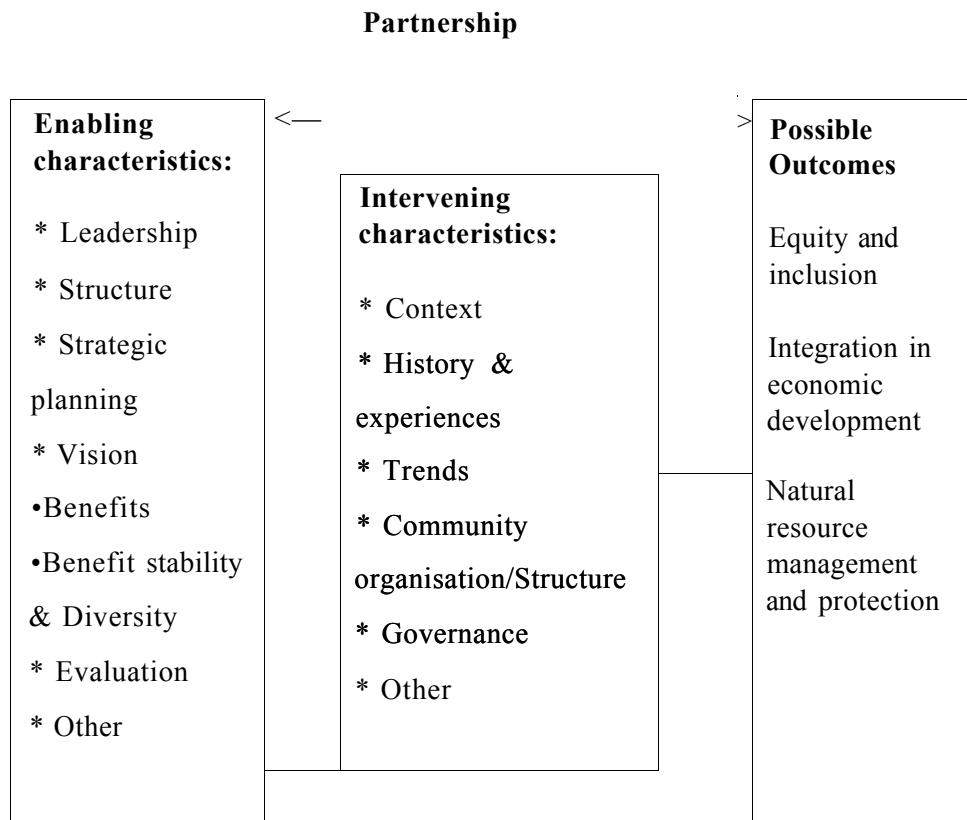
Evaluation can be used to demonstrate the importance of partnership to community, and identify challenges and threats to the partnership. The extent to which partners engage in evaluation may affect the partnership outcomes.

Others

There are a number of other characteristics that may affect efficacy of partnership. For example, history and past experiences, examples from neighbouring communities, and influence from other organisations and individuals may have effect on partnerships.

3.9 Conceptual Model

With a working description of partnerships in the context of sustainable development, a conceptual model for assessing the efficacy of private public partnerships in tourism can be drawn as outlined in the chart below. The chart depicts the relationship between enabling characteristics, which, can also be seen as opportunities, the intervening characteristics which can be viewed as threats, and outcomes. As shown in the table, the outcomes serve to strengthen the enabling characteristics while the enabling and intervening characteristics are interdependent.



Source: Researcher

CHAPTERFOUR

FINDINGS

4.1 The Context and Setting of the Partnership

Eselenkei is both a conservancy and a group ranch. As a group ranch, Eselenkei is governed by the Group Ranch Act of 1970. As a conservancy, Eselenkei operates without a guiding legislation except for insights received from other conservancies and NGOs. This gives the Eselenkei/Porini partnership a dual setting but not without consequences. This dual setting presented early challenges to the partnership as will be seen later in the chapter.

4.1.1 Eselenkei as Group Ranch

A group Ranch is a livestock production system or enterprise where a group of people jointly own freehold title to land, maintain agreed stocking levels and herd their livestock collectively which they own individually (Ministry of Agriculture Annual Report 1968 in J. C Ngethe 2008). The Group Ranches were designed to meet several objectives. Key among these objectives were:

- Increase productivity of pastoral lands
- Improve earnings of pastoralists through increased off-take
- Avoid possible landlessness among pastoralists in case large tracts are allocated to individual ranchers
- Avoid environmental degradation due to overstocking on communal lands

In terms of governance, the Group Ranches are supposed to elect leaders at an Annual General Meeting (AGM) presided over by a land registrar or a public officer appointed by the registrar in writing (The Land (Group Representative) Act, 1970). The elected leaders, referred to as officers in the Group Representative Act, include a Chairman, Secretary and a Treasurer and board/ committee members. The number of officers cannot exceed ten at any given time (The Land (Group Representative) Act, 1970). Group Ranch Committee, is a term used to refer to Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer of the Group Ranch. This is the top decision making organ of the Group Ranch and are responsible for

key decisions and for realisation of group ranch objectives. They are therefore responsible for management of all finances accrued by Group Ranches, allocation of grazing areas, keeping of register of member, registration of members and management of wells and dips for livestock among other tasks.

As observed from the description above, the Group Ranch system encourages sharing and banks on opportunities presented by economies of scale (space) while providing security against landlessness for members. Conversely, it bestows a lot of power on the group ranch officers, a few selected individuals, to oversee the management without clear guidance on how to achieve the objectives of the group ranch, in particular how to increase productivity or enhance earnings. The leadership are therefore vulnerable and at risk of making wrong choices. The interference of traditional leadership systems and danism is a reality and can be a threat to good governance.

A majority of respondents correctly described Eselenkeias being a Group Ranch. They had knowledge on four aspects of a Group Ranch management namely the officials who manage the group ranch and their terms, the AGM requirements, the process of registration of members, and member rights in as far as access to resources was concerned.

The FGD members were also knowledgeable the social amenities in the Group Ranch and their status. One youthful respondent from(FGD2)noted that:

The Group Ranch has two primary schools, and one mobile clinic operated by a church that serves 5000 members. There is no secondary school within the Group Ranch. Water is a big problem as surface water is a challenge in the entire district. One borehole and seasonal streams serve the entire population. There are two other boreholes within the Group Ranch but these are accessible to the community because they are located within the land leased for the tourism partnership venture with Porini. This water is for tourism camp and wildlife. The community can only access these m o boreholes in special circumstances when

the communal borehole is broken down or during drought. However, this has to be pre-arranged through consultations with the partner.

This respondent seems to indicate that the Group Ranch has failed to provide adequate social amenities like water, education and healthcare or had been too slow to provide the same. He also seems to be questioning the rationale of having two boreholes dedicated for tourism and wildlife and people had to have special permission to access these boreholes.

The system of governance of the Group Ranch by the officials was also of concern to all community respondents. According to **(K7)**:

In Eselenkei, the system had created room for autocratic leadership where elected officials used their positions to have their way.

It appeared like none of the respondents was familiar with government policy and objectives behind the formation of Group Ranches and its objectives, because nobody mentioned these specific objectives in the discussions. Nobody mentioned livestock management and the off-take program envisaged in the policy. The lack of knowledge on the intended objectives of a Group Ranch can be interpreted to indicate a misconception in policy formulation, an evolution in the group ranch model, a leadership inadequacy or lack of structures for effective communication.

4.1.2 Eselenkei Conservancy

The conservancy approach to conservation in Kenya is a fairly recent phenomenon but one which is quickly gaining currency among pastoral communities living in wildlife rich areas. However, Kenya has not yet developed any formal mechanisms for establishing, recognising and managing conservancies. Neither is there a consensus in the conceptualization of or definition of a conservancy. There are however a few variables that define the concept, key among them being; setting aside of land for conservation,

securing the land set aside for tourism and/or wildlife viewing, controlled livestock grazing and compensation, in cash or kind, for those who have set the land aside.

All key informants in this study and most members of FGDs except FGD3 and FGD5 were aware that a conservancy existed within Eselenkei Group Ranch. However, the depth of knowledge varied with different respondents. (K1) described the conservancy as follows:

About 15,000 acres of Eselenkei Group Ranch operates as a conservancy under the partnership with Porini Ltd. This area, which has been renamed Selenkay, by Porini Ltd, is not fenced and has not been excised from the rest of the conservancy except that boundaries have been demarcated. Scouts patrol these boundaries to ensure that livestock and people do not trespass into the conservancy. However, access for people and cattle can be granted under special arrangements, especially during drought.

Respondent (K7), described the conservancy in terms of pasture as follows:

The area referred to as Selenkay Conservancy, has been set aside for tourism. Unlike the rest of the group ranch, it has tall grass and thick bushes providing good grazing for antelopes which are plentiful in the conservancy. The rest of the conservancy is overgrazed grassland with evidence of erosion.

One member of (FGD2), described the conservancy based on its environmental conservation value:

The conservancy has become our grass bank. It has cushioned us against livestock losses during drought and in the dry seasons. The conservancy provides water and pasture. When our neighbours walk long distances in search of water and pasture, we have the conservancy, which has water and pasture.

Despite the varied descriptions of the conservancy, overall there seems to have been a good understanding of the defining variables of a conservancy. However not everyone accepted the concept as being favourable for the Group Ranch. These group of unsatisfied members felt that land for grazing was becoming scarce because of population growth and they could not afford to put land aside. This lack of common vision on an intervention that is at the centre of the partnership could be a threat to the partnership.

4.2 History & Experience with Conservation and Tourism

4.2.1 The Creation of Amboseli National Park

Eselenkei Group Ranch's early interaction with tourism is closely intertwined with the creation and history of Amboseli National park. This history dates back to 1945 when Amboseli was declared a national park. In creating Amboseli National Park, the state hived sections of the group ranches in the vicinity including Eselenkei. The respondent claimed that group ranch was not compensated for the portion of the Group Ranch that was hived off. The people were subsequently alienated from grazing land and water sources that became part of the Park.

Discussions on Eselenkei's early interaction with tourism therefore elicited negative reactions from the community respondents. It emerged that the interactions and perceptions were influenced by the experiences from creation of Amboseli National Park, the Wildlife Protection and Coordination Act and later NGO activities. According to a member of (FGDI):

The interactions date back to 1948 when government excised 392 SqKms of land from community Group Ranches in Kajiado to create Amboseli National Park. This was done without compensation or consultation. Demands by the community for compensation and explanations of government action were ignored. Instead, government, through the Wildlife Conservation and Management Department (WCMD), secured the park by deploying rangers to deal with pastoralists/landowners who attempted to access pasture within the park. This led to animosity, not only towards the state agency that managed the park, WCMD,

but also towards the concept of conservation and tourism. Eselenkei Group Ranch was among the aggrieved communities.

The same sentiments of resent to conservation and tourism were expressed differently by another respondents from (FGD4):

Members of Eselenkei Group Ranch saw the excision of the Group Ranch as a violation of their rights. They associated this government action to activities of the colonial administration that had alienated them from their land in parts of the Rift valley. As a result. National Parks and associated conservation programs were seen as the new form of oppression and extension of dominance experienced from colonialists.

In addition to alienation from land, conservation was perceived as shrouded in a lot of secrecy. There was no benefit for the community. (K1) described the secrecy as follows:

Everything around conservation was a big secret. They only told us that we could not access the park for grazing and if we did, we would be arrested and jailed for breaking the law. They never told us what the park was for. A number of our people went to jail for grazing in the park. They were charged with breaking provisions of the Wildlife Act, yet no one had explained to them in detail what was contained in the Act. This led community to detest conservation the more. We did not know anything about conservation except that it took away our land for foreigners to come and enjoy the nature in it. We were convinced that conservation is something government uses to forcefully benefit from resources owned by community without compensating them while NGOs use it to raise funds to finance their organisations. Everybody benefits from conservation except the host communities because of ignorance and well-planned alienation.

The community perceptions on tourism and conservation can be summarised by the observation made by (K3):

As a community, we have had a troubled history with tourism and conservation. These perceptions are the result of years of confrontation between the community and conservation ideals of the state, perpetuated through the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) and its predecessor the Wildlife Conservation and Management Department (WCMD). The creation of Amboseli Reserve took land away from the people without compensations. The parks also introduced lodge-based tourism. The lodges offered employment. The park also introduced seclusion of people from wildlife. Wildlife governance laws introduced penalties for killing of wildlife. It also excluded people from accessing areas designated at parks where wildlife was protected. Wildlife seemed favoured over people.

According to a former official of the Group Ranch, (K2), the effect of the creation of the park and wildlife laws on the community livelihoods and perceptions can be described as follows:

The events affected three spheres of our life. It reduced access to grazing land after excision of Amboseli Reserve and created conflicts from illegal grazing charges in the park. This changes created negative perceptions of the terms conservation and tourism. The two words became synonymous to alienation, exploitation, and oppression. In later years there were mixed feelings among E-selenkei members on the park and conservation. They have begun to see conservation and tourism as opportunities for a better life in recent times.

However, there was an admission that things had changed over the years and people had a clearer understanding of conservation, especially by those who had been to school and those who had attended workshops organised by NGOs. According to (K2), the conservation manager in the conservancy:

We now understand the provisions of the Wildlife Act more even though we don't agree with it. We don't like the part on compensation from conflicts with wildlife. We understand the policy is being changed and they will address compensation from wildlife conflicts. We owe our knowledge to NGOs operating in this area who have enlightened us about conservation, tourism, and other environmental issues. We now appreciate wildlife and tourism. We see the opportunities, but think we could benefit more with better leaders.

Another respondent from (FGD5) also noted that perceptions had changed in recent years following works done by NGOs to create awareness on new forms of tourism. He noted:

The NGOs created awareness on opportunities presented by safeguarding the environment. They promoted benefits of ecosystem to host community through ecotourism.

The feeling of alienation remains strong among Eselenkei Group Ranch members age notwithstanding. Respondents used the terms "robbed", exploitation and oppression to refer to government action to excise part of Eselenkei group to create the park. These sentiments could be summarised to mean Eselenkei had not benefited from conservation and tourism in Amboseli National Park.

4.2.2 Wildlife Governance

The Wildlife Coordination and Management Act, through which Amboseli National Park was created, did not provide for co-management of the park. It also did not provide for sharing of benefits. It was an exclusion policy that centralised wildlife management. This created further alienation from conservation and tourism.

Since the Park was not fenced, cases of human/wildlife conflicts persisted. The community demanded compensation for loss of property and life. The community frowned at the provision in the Act for compensation of Ksh 30,000 (thirty thousand shillings) maximum for loss of life. Compensation for loss of property was a long and

tedious process. It was eventually scrapped in 1989. Members of Eselenkei Group Ranch, like other communities in Kajiado District that had been disfranchised of their land by the park, came to resent tourism and conservation.

Conservation had not only alienated members of Eselenkei Group Ranch from their land, the Act was seen as a further conspiracy to alienate them from opportunities presented by tourism and conservation. In the words of (K1):

Even as we lost our livestock and lives, we remained locked out of opportunities. Nobody understood how people got jobs with the wildlife department or how tourism was conducted in Amboseli National park Both the WCMD and KWS have not employed our people. This has affected communication between the community and the wildlife authority leading to strained relations between the wildlife department and the community with each treating the other with suspicion. Conservation had not only alienated Eselenkei members from their land, it was alienating them from opportunities that came with conservation like employment and income.

This perceived state engineered exclusion, deepened Eselenkei members' scepticism and negative perceptions towards conservation and tourism. They became convinced that conservation was not sympathetic to their nomadic lifestyles and that the business of tourism was the preserve of white foreigners. In a bid to protect their lifestyle, they became hostile to tourism and conservation. They pointed that their hostility was not towards tourists. It was rather towards the state agencies and their policies on conservation. The description below by (K7), is an overview of the impacts and relationship between the park and the Group Ranch and the Park:

We don't know how much revenue they collect from the park from tourists who pay to enter the park but we think it is a lot of money judging by the number of tourist vehicles we see entering the park. Despite us shouldering the cost of having wildlife on our land, they don't think of sharing the revenue with us. Our

livestock get sick from wildlife- transmitted diseases, and we share our pasture with wildlife yet we don't share in the benefits. This Act must be changed to recognise us.

The Wildlife Act and its provisions reveal an approach to conservation that community felt was exclusive and benefited the state and tourism operators more than the community.

4.2.3 Tourism

Tourism was not perceived differently from conservation. After the park was created, tourist lodges and camps were developed inside the park. Respondents recalled that scores of tourist vans drove past dusty villages each year, occasionally stopping for tourists to throw sweets and bottled water at the children and herders respectively. Eselenkei had some form of tourism on its land, though it was not beneficial. In the views of (K3):

Sometimes the tour operators hired camping ground on community land outside the park and paid nothing for it. They paid meagre wages to the Maasai whom they hired for security services and for dancing to entertain the tourists. The Maasai knew little about camping safaris and dismissed campers as lost travellers looking for a place to rest before proceeding with their travel. Tour operators benefited from this ignorance for many years. When members of community tried to ask for jobs in the lodges and camps, they were turned down as lacking in requisite skills and experience. A few got jobs as security guards or gardeners.

Tourism, like conservation was seen to have alienated the people from opportunities for employment.

4.2.5 Hunting

Eselenkei had direct early interactions/engagement with tourism, even though they did not consider it tourism. These were the hunting blocs found in the conservancy. According to (K5)Eselenkei Group Ranch was a popular bird-shooting destination. Bird shooters applied and received a licence from WCMD and later the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) to shoot birds in the area at certain times of the year. Apart from bird shooting, the area was also used for big game hunting in the 1960s and early 1970s.

Despite collecting fees from camping and charging for services from bird shooters, which amount to engaging in tourism, most respondents did not particularly consider Eselenkei as being involved in tourism at that time. Their perceptions of being involved in tourism and benefiting from tourism meant owning a lodge or tourist hotel, being employed in a lodge/camp, being employed in the park and sharing in park fees collected by park authorities. As such, being paid ground fee for camping, and being paid wages for assisting the campers was not viewed as being engaged in tourism. The issues of participation and benefiting were clearly articulated by respondents with a majority believing that there was no way to benefit from tourism except by owning a tourism lodge or owning/managing the resource. According to a member of (FGD1):

White people visited this area for hunting expeditions in the 1960s and 1970s. This was before the ban on hunting in 1974. These hunters hired locals to help them in tracking animals and to help with setting up camps during the expedition. Local people also provided security for the hunters at night. The community paid little attention to activities of the campers. For years, hunters came and went and community provided support in return for tokens of appreciation or some pittance payment. There was no system for determining cost of activities undertaken by the hunters and services provided by the locals. The beneficiary was the tour operator who planned the expedition and the hunter who sold or kept the trophy. We did not know that these people were tourists so we welcomed them as guests on transit.

It emerged from the discussion that the license to hunt or shot birds was issued by the state agency (WCMD and later KWS), and the fees were not shared with the community. This enhanced the feeling of alienation by the community from benefits of conservation and tourism. For most respondents, the Wildlife Conservation and Management Department (WCMD), the state agency responsible for conservation and the tour operators who benefited from tourism were grouped together as aggressors of the community. In addition, the community strongly felt that tourism and conservation policies favoured the wildlife, government and private investors but not members of Eselenkei Group Ranch. (K3) observed that prolonged exclusion community resigned to the fact that they would never benefit from conservation and tourism:

Unable to fight the system, the community resigned to the fact that all conservation benefits belonged to the government and private investors in tourism, and resolved to protect their remaining land from further alienation for tourism or conservation.

The above sentiments are contrary to the views of (K2) who had camped in Eselenkei group ranch several times in past before forming Porini Ecotourism, and entering into a tourism partnership with Eselenkei group ranch.

I had visited the place for birdshooting and paid all necessary ground fees to the group ranch management. I believe Eselenkei was involved in tourism much earlier as it had several game hunting and bird shooting blocs and the birdshooters bought services from the community.

(K5) further noted that the group ranch leaders were familiar with the payment system and received payment from the campers for several services including ground fees (camping fees), guiding, security and porters fees. He observed that the bird shooting blocs remained active until the late 1990s.

The Group Ranch leadership concurred observations of (K1) that they were engaged in tourism but add that the feeling of alienation far outweighed the revenues they earned from campers on bird shooting trips. They wanted a different level of engagement beyond being paid camping fees. (K1) commented that:

We wanted to receive a percentage of the license fee, be involved in setting the various fees for camping services from campsite fees to wages for camping support staff. Since this was not the case, we don't feel we engaged in tourism.

One respondent (K3), noted that in the late 1980s, the ad hoc camping arrangements and collection of fees by the group ranch began to change.

We became more organised in our dealings with campers. Camping safaris had grown bigger and it involved tour companies coming to the area and identifying campsites for long term use. They would pay the group ranch for exclusive use of these areas. The officials collected the money and recorded it. Individuals who provided services to campers received favourable pay for their services. Some were able to buy more cows from their earnings. The fees collected by the officials were used to secure the group ranch boundaries by paying for surveys.

Despite the resentment for conservation and tourism, community members continued to admire opportunities created by wildlife-based tourism. Therefore, as lodges were built in Amboseli National park, and employment opportunities created and tourist numbers increased, the Group Ranches neighbouring the park, including Eselenkei, became hopeful that they could get benefits from the park operations. At the least, they expected employment. This did not happen, causing despair among the members. One respondent from **(FGD1)**, expressed the disappointment as follows:

The lodges in the park recruited their employees from other parts of the country. In some cases, there were more foreign workers than Kenyans. After several protests by the Group Ranches to KWS, some Maasai got employment as guards in

the lodges. Eselenkei enjoyed their first benefit from tourism and conservation when some of their members secured security jobs in the lodges.

The mixed feeling of deprivation and opportunity, presented by tourism and conservation, played out strongly in the negotiation of partnership between Eselenkei Group Ranch and Porini Ecotourism. Issues of land ownership, access, benefits, benefit sharing, engagement, good governance and participation became central in the negotiations.

4.3 Community Organisation and Action

Eselenkei's experiences with tourism and conservation prior to the partnership prompted a series of community actions. The community organised themselves to respond to what had become a threat as well as an opportunity. Their actions were informed by several factors. The NGOs played a role in creating awareness and introducing new thinking about tourism and conservation, perceived poor wildlife governance policies and rights to compensation from wildlife conflicts. The quest for ownership and recognition as resource managers also contributed to the responses.

4.3.1 The AmboseliTsavo Group Ranches Association (ATTGRA)

In early 1980s the Group Ranches around Amboseli National Park organised themselves in an effort to address the challenges brought about by conservation legislation. In particular, they wanted to be able to effectively engage with Kenya Wildlife Service and earn a share of park fees from Amboseli National Park. They agreed on need to form a regional body to represent them. The result was the formation of the AmboseliTsavo Group Ranches Association (ATGRA). This would become their tool of action against their main aggressors, the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) and the government. The formation of the association was the effort of NGOs operating around Amboseli National Park, in particular the African Conservation Centre (ACC) and Africa Wildlife Foundation (AWF). Other NGOs that supported the process included SNV, the Netherlands development agency. Respondent (K2) observed that:

ATGRA evolved into a lobby organisation. The Group Ranches used ATGRA to press for a share of the park entry fees Amboseli National park among other benefits. Each Group Ranch was represented in the association by their respective Group Ranch officials namely the chairman, secretary and treasurer. A total of seven Group Ranches from Amboseli joined ATGRA.

By being organised, the Group Ranches hoped to engage more effectively with the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) for recognition as stakeholders in wildlife management, hence eligible to share in benefits arising from wildlife tourism. They also hoped to attract the attention of conservation organisations and donor agencies that sympathised with their plight. These NGOs and donor organisations would help them to organise effectively to engage with KWS. **(K2)** further observed that:

A TGRA worked to facilitate dialogue between KWS and Group Ranches around Amboseli national park. In particular, the Group Ranches, wanted a share of revenues collected by KWS, employment opportunities, compensation for loss of property to wildlife and for disability and/or death resulting from wildlife attacks. They based their argument for compensation on the fact that they tolerated wildlife, which roamed freely on their land as the national parks were not large enough to secure all wildlife within their boundaries neither were they complete ecosystems independent of adjacent community lands.

The above observation show that the Group Ranch considered compensation, employment, and sharing of park entry revenues as benefits of embracing conservation and by extension supporting tourism. Therefore, any tourism venture they would enter into in the future would have to meet these needs and expectations.

The respondents observed that the community demands were largely ignored and this led to confrontation between KWS and Group Ranches. The confrontations arose from killing of wildlife in revenge or defence or illegal grazing in the Amboseli National park.

Owing to increased tensions, the engagement soon evolved from a demand of benefits of tourism and conservation as earned by KWS to one of rights. Respondent **(K7)** observed that:

Our members argued that, they were fighting for their existence which was under threat from tourism and conservation. If they were to make concessions for wildlife and tourism, they needed to be recognised as partners in conservation and given a share of revenues from tourism. If this was not possible, they wanted to be compensated for having wildlife on their land and losses related to wildlife predation.

Most respondents expressed anger at policy makers and some conservation organisations, which they accused reducing their plight and conflicts to a scramble for space between the Maasai and wildlife. They also took issue with those who described human/wildlife conflicts as resulting from lack of awareness among the pastoral communities on conservation need and its benefits to the country. They were further angered that nobody spoke about benefits to the community or local people or land owners on whose land wildlife destroyed crops, killed livestock, interrupted social activities, spread diseases and even killed people. **(K7)** further observed that:

The solution to conservation was not to create havens for wildlife away from people and to keep people from these havens through 'military' force like KWS rangers, but to integrate local people in conservation and tourism. For us the conflicts were more than a scramble for space; they were about safeguarding lives, and livelihoods.

Despite feelings of frustration from being ignored, the community still expressed respect for wildlife. This respect, they said, spanned generations of harmonious co-existence with wildlife. Therefore, their anger against wildlife was not explicitly expressed. Their retaliatory actions against their unmet demands were carried out discreetly. These

included grazing livestock in the park at night and 'silent' killing of predators that attacked livestock.

However, community actions would change in the mid to late 1990s and became more aggressive. The peak of agitation by Amboseli Group Ranches for recognition as active, stakeholders in wildlife conservation and therefore entitled to share benefits from Amboseli National Reserve and to be compensated for wildlife predation on crops and livestock, and loss of lives through wildlife attacks was witnessed in 2002. This happened when Morans in the Kitengela region, of Kajiado District, speared several lions in a day and made headline news in print and electronic media locally and internationally. A member of (FGD5), described the community reactions as follows:

When the images of the dead lions were broadcast in local and international media, the authorities responded. Our people were harassed and arrested but we had caught the attention of the world. This action raised questions on the benefits of conservation to host communities and appropriateness of conservation in view of opportunity costs borne by communities neighbouring parks and reserves. Even though the actions took place far from Eselenkei, we identified with the events. Liberal conservation NGOs, keen to push for a shift in approach to conservation used the situation to advocate and lobby intensely for change in conservation approaches and push for sharing of benefits from tourism with host communities.

While the killing of lions took place more than 100kms from Eselenkei, respondents recounted it as if it had happened at Eselenkei. They were proud of the action taken by their kinsmen in Kitengela. In their view, through this act of killing lions, disconnect between tourism, conservation and local livelihoods became apparent. One member of (FGD1) suggested that:

The Kenya Wildlife Service responded to the killings by up scaling community outreach programs and begun to work with Group Ranches around Amboseli National Park and Nairobi National Park Through these new programs, there was hope of new benefits to the Group Ranches from the Park.

According to respondents, a number of things emerged from the activities of ATGRA. They suggested that one such outcome was the interest by development and wildlife lobby organisations in tourism and conservation in Amboseli area. In particular, respondents made reference to Action Aid and International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW) as organisations that became interested in the activities of ATTGRA. In the views of a member of (FGD4):

Action Aid in particular, organised countrywide advocacy workshops on human wildlife conflict and how they affected livelihoods. They also used the workshops to create awareness on oppressive sections of the Wildlife Management and coordination Act (1989) and to lobby for review of the Act to recognise the significance of engaging landowners in conservation and sharing tourism benefits.

The advocacy work of the development organisations coupled with activities of ATTGRA came up with a list of contentious issues that needed to be addressed by wildlife authorities to secure wildlife and safeguard livelihoods and lives of host communities. Members of (FGD5) outlined these issues as follows:

- o the levels of compensation paid for loss of life through wildlife attacks,
- o the management of national parks and reserves,
- o sharing of conservation and tourism benefits with community neighbouring parks and reserves,
- o utilisation of wildlife, and
- o compensation for loss of property through wildlife attacks

4.3.2 Role of NGOs & Donor Groups

Several conservation NGOs embraced inclusive forms of conservation from the mid 1990s. In Kenya where conservation is closely linked to tourism because of Park based tourism, NGOs became even deeply involved with activities to support communities living around parks to participate in tourism.

Respondents in this study named Africa Conservation Centre (ACC) and Africa Wildlife Foundation (AWF) as among several NGOs that supported the group ranches in their organisation and actions to fight for benefits from tourism and conservation. **(KI)** observed that:

The Group Ranches received various kinds of training on their rights from conservation organisations and NGOs that promoted ecotourism and people driven approaches to conservation. The result of their lobbying was the initiation of a bursary scheme by the Kenya Wildlife Service in 1995. The Group Ranches accepted the funds but were not satisfied with amounts and criteria used for arriving on levels of bursaries to be disbursed. Nonetheless, the Group Ranch members were happy to receive 'benefits from conservation and tourism.

Respondents further suggested that through the actions of the community and support from development and lobby organisations, community resentment towards conservation and tourism started receiving attention from government and international organisations through support to community based tourism. They made reference to two major conservation and tourism programs supported by the European Union and USAID separately between 2002 and 2006, whose objectives were to enhance community participation in conservation and increase tourism benefits to communities.

The respondents observed that these programs, the Biodiversity Conservation Program (BCP) of the EU and the Conservation of Resources through Enterprise (CORE) of USAID, supported early community based tourism interventions like Ilngwesi, Shompole

in Amboseli area, Lumo, among others.(K3) observed that the entry of these organisations gave new hope to the Group Ranches.

The entry of international players like USAID and EU in what started as local advocacy activities changed the whole approach to benefiting from conservation and tourism. These organisations were believed to have a lot of money and would meet or deliver the benefits the community had dreamt of from tourism and conservation.

Another respondent noted that:

These organisations promised that their models of tourism would create employment for community members, generate land lease fees/rent if community set aside land for conservation, attract tourism investments, own/co-own tourism lodges and camps and receive training to support their new engagement with tourism and conservation.

The organisations held several workshops and organised exchange tours for members of the Group Ranches, mainly the leaders. (K2) note that the leaders were convinced after several seminars and tours:

This is how the idea of investment partnerships and community conservancies was introduced to Group Ranches. We were told that to benefit more from conservation and tourism, we needed to make available some land for conservation and receive grants to construct lodges in return. We would own the lodges. These lodges would be leased to investors who would run them and pay community regular revenue.

Respondents from (FGD4) and (FGD5) observed that despite the promises, the community remained suspicious of the motive of NGOs because they associated the NGOs with foreigners "white people". From experience, the community believed 'white

people' valued wildlife and parks more than people. These differences in perceptions of role of NGOs affected community organisation and actions. **(K2)** noted the following of the process:

It took more than 5 years of seminars, workshops, lobbying and exposure tours to address the suspicions and get the association fully accepted and eventually registered. The community became relaxed when (ATGRA) employed community members as management staff and employed game scouts who received monthly wages. They felt ownership.

4.4 Trends

The paradigm shift in development towards sustainable development from the 1990s, made significant impact on tourism. The result was new forms and approaches to tourism that contributed to conservation and brought direct benefits to host communities.

4.4.1 Joint Ventures and Conservancies

Conservation and tourism in Kajiado District went through a transition period in the 1990s. The paradigm shifts in development and conservation discourse towards people centred/sensitive development contributed to this transition. Awareness programs by NGOs, were followed by introduction of models to inspire the change. Joint ventures were gaining currency in tourism. A member of **(FGD1)**, recalled the promotion of Joint Ventures as follows:

We were told about joint ventures by NGOs. They said this new form of ventures tourism that involved local people engaging in tourism through partnerships with investors was called ecotourism. The lure of co-ownership of tourism ventures and sharing of benefits and profits, guaranteed employment and retained ownership of land was seen as attractive.

The discussions revealed that Eselenkei Group Ranch leadership attended several meetings organised for ATGRA members to discuss this new form of tourism and how communities would benefit. According to respondents, the NGOs promised investment capital for development of tourism facilities in return for community embracing conservation on their land by setting aside land for conservation in what became known as community conservancies. (K5), commented as follows on the trend:

Still there was scepticism about joint ventures. This scepticism was partly due to lack of understanding of the proposed joint venture business model by local landowners who assumed that all fees charged by a business were profit going into the investor's pocket.

According to several respondents from the FGDs, Kimana Group Ranch became the first ranch to embrace the new approaches to conservation by forming a conservancy. In the view of respondents from (FGD4) and (FGD5):

A conservancy is formed when community puts aside portions of land for wildlife and tourism activities, with occasional access for livestock grazing, while retaining ownership. Settlements are not allowed in the conservancy.

(K2), a former member of the Group Ranch committee and Conservation Manager of Selenkay Conservancy observed that it was not easy to get buy-in from the community.

It took several years of awareness creation and community sensitisation before specific areas were selected for implantation of pilot projects. This was a confusing time for our community. It was also the time when groupings emerged among us. Those who participated in the awareness meetings became the biggest supporters of the Eselenkei/ Porini partnership.

Amboseli Group Ranches was one of the areas chosen by USAID and EU programs to experiment on the new-found opportunity to use conservation and tourism for the benefit of host communities. The focus was on joint ventures. The first tourism partnership Eselenkei members heard of happened in Kimana Group Ranch. They learnt that Kimana member's earned direct income from tourism activities in the form of bed night fee and conservation fee. They noted that these revenues were significantly higher than incomes from bird shooters. According to a member of (FGD5), the evidence of more income was evident in the new lifestyle of leaders of Kimana.

The leaders of the group ranch were able to travel widely because they had income. They gave bursaries to students and supported medical treatment for members.

Another respondent (K2), noted that:

Kimana became the envy of other Group Ranch.

Eselenkei also learnt of a partnership in Shompole Group Ranch that saw the establishment of Shompole conservancy and Shompole lodge. According to (K1):

The form of tourism that Kimana and Shompole engaged in was described to the Group Ranches as ecotourism. From these two examples, other Group Ranches, including Eselenkei became hopeful that they too would benefit from similar tourism ventures. However, Eselenkei was not lucky to benefit from the USAID or EU programs, but we remained hopeful and alert to opportunities.

With the Kimama and Shompole cases, joint ventures quickly gained credence as a potential solution to alienation of host communities from tourism and conservation benefits. It was also seen as opportunity to reverse negative attitude towards conservation by communities living with wildlife on their land and neighbouring national parks and reserves.

4.4.2 Ecotourism

According to ESOK, the spread of the concept of ecotourism in Kenya is associated with the hosting of an international ecotourism conference in Kenya in 1997 (ESOK Newsletter- issue 4). In hosting the conference, Kenya was responding to a growing global call for new form of tourism that recognised communities (Ecotourism at a crossroads conference report, 1998). As described in the literature review, this form of tourism was christened ecotourism, and had its grounding in the sustainable development approach to development.

Respondents in this study had varied perspectives of Ecotourism. Their perspectives were a representation of individual and group experiences. For (K2) who had participated in conferences of ecotourism:

Ecotourism was a global trend, which, Eselenkei could benefit from.

For other members ecotourism, as explained by NGOs, epitomised the type of tourism they had been agitating for through ATGRA and other forums. They saw ecotourism as a response to community lobby activities and the realisation by conservation organisations and tour operators that conservation without participation of host communities is not sustainable. In the view of member of (FGD4):

Conservation stakeholders and tourism investors were facing challenges arising from community actions that threatened wildlife. They saw no future without engaging community.

The women in (FGD3) did not understand the term but had an idea of what that type of tourism could do:

We have heard the term ecotourism for many years and even today we are not sure we know what it means. However, we think it means we will have more money for community from tourists. We are benefiting from our cultural centre

because the tourists buy our beadwork and pay to visit us. This is organised by our investor.

The divergent views on ecotourism notwithstanding, ecotourism has a distinct form and shape in the minds of members of Eselenkei. This perspective was entrenched in their minds through several different media. There are those who attended training seminars and exposure tours facilitated by KWS and NGOs. Others heard reports of those who attended the meetings and exposure tours in organised forums. Many more heard the reports on market days in informal settings and at local bars in the evening. One key attribute of ecotourism that arose from these visits was investment partnerships. Some of the descriptions or perspectives of ecotourism as expounded by respondents include:

- Community owning a big lodge and operating it
- Joint investments with foreign investor
- More revenue for community from tourism
- Better facilities - water, health, education
- Good prices for beadwork
- Bursaries for higher education
- Employment for community members
- Giving away land
- More conserved areas managed by community
- Creation of buffer grazing land
- Milking the lion and the elephant forever and keeping the milk.
- Peaceful co-existence with wildlife

These perspectives are indicative of a strong support or endorsement of ecotourism as the solution to the community quest to benefit from conservation and tourism. A number of things had been observed and learnt from the tours, seminars and awareness programs of NGOs which resulted in these perspectives.

In particular, Kimana and Ilingesi became the envy of members of Eselenkei Group Ranch. Group Ranches wanted to emulate or replicate the Kimana model. One respondent from (FGD4) suggested that:

In the Kimana ecotourism model, the partnership had resulted in the building of a lodge on the land set aside by the community for conservation and tourism. They had created their own little park'. All employees in the tourist lodge were members of the Group Ranch. The community earned and collected entry fees to the conservation area and received a percentage of rates paid by guests to the lodge as bed night fee.

This model epitomised the community's idiom of tourism that benefits community. They wanted to emulate this model in Eselenkei. By emulating this model, they would shift from being observers but active participants in any tourism venture on their land. (K1) observed that:

After the visits, awareness and interest by community in ecotourism grew steadily and fast. Eselenkei was ready for ecotourism.

Respondents noted that the Group Ranch faced several challenges in attempts to realise their dream of engaging in ecotourism. They had learnt during the visits that it was expensive to invest in tourism and they needed a partner or a donor to develop the requisite infrastructure. The Group Ranch lacked the needed money to invest in tourism infrastructure. They also lacked skills to run tourism operation. Their first challenge was to identify a partner with funds to invest in the requisite tourism infrastructure and skills to run the operations of the venture.

Initially, Eselenkei members pegged their hopes on the NGOs that had supported other Group Ranches to build the requisite tourism infrastructure. This way they would invite partners as management partners. According to (K1), their hopes were shattered when it

emerged that the donors and NGOs could not cope with demand for community investments. He noted that:

The community had no option but look for private investment funds from tourism operators. We heard about bank loans but the tales we had heard about bank loans discouraged us. The NGOs also told us that the group ranch model was not attractive to banks owing to lack of transparent governance structures. Internally the members did not have trust in their leaders and could not entrust them to use the land as collateral. Investment capital from tourism operators was the better option since it had been piloted in other group ranches and seemed to work

The only common thread in all answers was the promise of more income, better lives, employment and improved social infrastructure like schools, water and health facilities. This could be indicative of the inherent desire to benefit and participate in resource use and management, the absence of which creates dissent.

4.5 Structure

Proponents of sustainable development and by extension all emerging concepts related to the paradigm must have made several assumptions about community readiness to effectively participate in development. Among other things, they assumed that there existed structures of governance and management at community level to support and embrace participatory development. They also assumed efficient communication mechanisms and benefit sharing models. Some of these factors influenced the Eselenkei partnership model as outlined below. In particular the lack of structures in the Group Ranch management

4.5.1 Selecting the Partner

For Eselenkei, finding a partner to enter into a joint venture with was a game of chance. Luck came to Eselenkei through a researcher who had worked in the area for several years studying community interactions with wildlife and benefits. He encouraged

Eselenkei leaders in their quest to look for an investment partner. One respondent (K3) explained that:

When the researcher realised their limitations in identifying a partner, he offered to assist. The community was informed that the would-be investor was a UK based tour operator of Kenyan origin and with vast experience in tourism in Kenya and internationally. The researcher, who became known as the 'venture broker' contacted the operator on behalf of the community. He promised the officials that the proposed partner would soon visit the group to meet the Group Ranch leaders.

The community waited for six months before the proposed investor visited. Some respondents noted that the researcher had no practical knowledge on how private/community partnership in tourism are structured and implemented. According to (K7),

The conviction of our leaders that the partnership would work was based on the researchers observation that there were many camping safaris in the area, abundant wildlife, and belief that the group ranch had enough land to set some aside for a conservancy. He therefore did no more than to introduce the investor to the community.

Some respondents from the FGDs observed that when the investor / partner visited them, it emerged that he needed no introduction to the area since he was familiar with the area from earlier tourism activities.

The community did not have a structure for developing a partnership. Yet they went ahead with discussions on a partnership immediately after the first meeting with the proposed investor. The only experience the community had was from workshop presentations by NGOs and through exchange visits to what were considered successful cases. The investor on his part was well equipped with tourism business skills but lacked

knowledge on private community partnerships and local Group Ranch governance systems. This would be his first joint venture. Both parties had no structure for selecting a partner or entering into a partnership.

4.5.2 Selecting the Model

The early partnerships in Amboselievolved without community structures. They were based on a model where an investor leased land from the community and paid land lease fee and an agreed bed night fee per guest. This became the model to emulate. According to (K3):

The investor was the driver of the partnership, usually approaching a community with a deal. This happened because community lacked capacity to identify, select and approach potential investors.

Investors, on their part, had developed business structures and elaborate networks that enabled them to design the partnerships in their favour. Before approaching any community, the tourism investors made sure they had ample information (ESOK Newsletter 2006). ESOK notes that the investor would request the community to set aside land as conservation area and other land for development of tourism facility and auxiliary service areas for bore holes, staff quarters and any other relevant infrastructure. In return, they promised regular payments for the leased land, employment for group ranch members and support for education infrastructure among other benefits. Commenting on the lack of structure by community, (K1), noted:

Eselenkei was looking for partner who would deliver benefits we had seen in Kimana and other groups. Therefore, our partnership model was no going to be different.

Eselenkei Group Ranch had no plan or strategy on how to approach the partnership least on what to demand of the investor. They had no means to measure and quantify their investment in the partnership. Their hope of getting an investor was based on the fact that

their land had wildlife, it was large enough to set some aside for conservation and was attractive for tourism.

Further, the absence of structures at policy level to guide this kind of partnership in tourism meant that each such partnership would be a gamble for the community.

4.5.3 Negotiating the Partnership

Negotiating a partnership is a consensus building process between the partners. When more partners, than the negotiating partners are involved, the partnership could be transformed. In the case of Eselenkei, the absence of structures within the Group Ranch to deal with partnerships made it possible for several parties to get involved in negotiating the partnership. This could lead to complex conflicts and misunderstandings.

Respondents had divergent views on the negotiation process from building consensus, agreeing on terms, drafting the agreement to signing the final agreement. These views seemed informed by level of education, leadership position within Group ranch, economic status and relationship with Group Ranch officials among other factors. Overall, the views reflected disconnect between the leaders and members. According to a member of (FGD1):

The process of building consensus faced challenges. Eselenkei members feared they could lose their land through the partnership. The fears of Eselenkei members stemmed from a history of poor governance by group ranch officials and perceptions about tourism and conservation.

Most respondents echoed the above sentiments and accused the officials of lack of transparency and corruption in managing Group Ranch revenue. They alleged that the officials had not accounted for various group incomes from the past and were using the office to enrich themselves and their allies. Owing to this record, respondents noted, there was doubt on the ability of the officials to deliver an equitable and fair partnership agreement in the interest of the community. A split emerged ahead of endorsing the

agreement, leading to conflicts and more delays. **(K1)**, an official of the group Ranch, dismissed the label of corruption and instead accused leaders ousted from office in previous AGM of inciting members against incumbent officials.

Another issue in the negotiation process and consensus building was access to the partner. Community respondents claimed the Group Ranch officials, kept the investor from meeting other leaders and the community at large. This issue had divided the members during the negotiations and developed into wrangles that delayed the negotiation process for two years and threatened to derail the process altogether. Commenting on why the partner did not meet the members, **(K5)** noted:

Porini did not make any contact with the larger community and instead concentrated on talks with the leaders. This was ideal since the group ranch had elected leaders and negotiating with the entire group ranch would have been impractical.

Respondents gave different views on whether access to the partner by all would have mitigated against some of the challenges experienced in conceptualisation and negotiation of the partnership. According to **(K1)**:

The negotiation was transparent and above board. During the negotiations, the proposed structure of the partnership and expectations of the Porini Ecotourism were presented to the officials for review. The same interests were presented at various community meetings. The officials did not hide anything.

The handling of the negotiation processes by the Group Ranch officials led to deep mistrust and information gap between leaders and members. As part of efforts to bridge the growing mistrust and widening information-gap, the officials of the group ranch worked with NGOs to organise workshops and seminars to disseminate the knowledge. According to respondents, these seminars were mainly held in hotels in Kajiado and Emali towns. Respondents observed that members questioned the efficacy of the

seminars in addressing concerns of the members. They felt the seminars did not address pertinent issues of forming tourism partnership and how to monitor and manage such partnerships for the benefit of community. Instead, the seminars mainly served to address unresolved community fears in relation to loss of land. Other pertinent issues such as payment schedules, rate payable per acre leased and size of land to be put under conservancy, social benefits, length of lease, exit clause and breach among others. Issues of equity and good governance, all seen as critical by those opposing the partnership were ignored.

In defence of the seminars, (K1), responded:

There was need to overcome the challenges brought by mistrust between leaders and lack of access to information. The officials used education and networking as instruments to win the support of members. They also enlisted support of conservation NGOs and KWS, to encourage the members to endorse the partnership agreement. The NGOs responded by taking additional selected members (non-leaders) of the group ranch, on exposure tours to see existing partnership models and learn lessons that could benefit their new partnership. This was transparent and inclusive.

The claim by an official that the process of negotiation was inclusive, was dismissed by members of (FGD5). One member note that:

Out of a membership of 5000, less than one hundred participated in the exposure tours owing to limited funds from the NGOs. Not only were the numbers of those selected for exposure tours few, the lack of a community approved system of selecting those who participated in the exposure tours led to further mistrust. Community members believed that the officials selected their allies who returned with rosy details of partnerships. The community was divided in their vote.

Apart from education and awareness process, the question of setting aside land dominated discussions during the negotiation process. Respondents noted that members raised issue with the proposed size of land to be set aside for the conservancy. They were fearful that setting aside land amounted to giving away land and reducing the grazing areas. The partnership proposed to set aside 7000 hectares of land to be leased to Porini Ecotourism to manage as a conservancy under the partnership. This land would be used for development of tourism infrastructure the camp, and a conservancy. (K1) acknowledged the fears of members by noting:

For most members, setting aside land was equal to creating a park and they perceived the partnership as a ploy by the group ranch officials to sell community land to a 'white man' in the same way that Amboseli National Park had been carved from the group ranches.

Despite the mistrust and concerns, and amidst a divided community, the agreement was endorsed at an Annual General Meeting (AGM) of the group ranch in 1997 and signed on 4th April 1997. The group ranch had formally entered into a partnership with Porini Ecotourism. A member of (FGD5) observed the following of activities that followed the signing:

Soon after signing the agreement, the conservancy area was demarcated and all cattle and settlements relocated to pave way for tourism infrastructure. Some members protested relocation leading to confrontations. This led to withdrawal of the investor from the site stalling the development for a year. It took a review of the area set aside for a conservancy and the intervention of the local Member of Parliament for members to reconsider the partnership.

Respondents pointed out several other shortcomings, which they believed affected the partnership. This include lack of capacity by the officials to interpret and understand the proposed agreement because it was drafted in English, lack of exposure to drafting business partnerships and inadequate negotiations skills. Indeed, all community

respondents, except the leadership of the Group Ranch, expressed concern over the manner in which the partnership details were arrived at and the drafting of the partnership agreement.

If the Group Ranch had structures for entering into partnerships, these inadequacies would have been addressed through strategic planning. Under the circumstances, the disparity in negotiating advantage between the partner and Group Ranch could have played to the advantage of the one partner.

4.5.4 Sharing Information

The only recognised tool for communication to members under the Group Ranch Act is the Annual General Meeting. All other forms and media of communication while desirable do not count as communication. This structure gave confidence to Group Ranch officials in their claim that there was adequate communication because the partnership was presented and discussed at an AGM of the Group Ranch.

Some of those interviewed opined that there was indeed information sharing but not consultations. As a result two factions emerged with one led by retired officials and other leaders and another led by officials in office and their allies. The contention of the groups opposing the officials who were negotiating with Porini was that by not consulting, they were not acting in the interest of the members. One member of (FGD4) noted of this concern:

As custodians, they are supposed to manage the resources of the group ranch and facilities therein in a way that brings benefits to all members of the group ranch. In discharging their duty, they are expected to ensure participation of all members of group ranch in decision-making.

In describing their knowledge of the negotiation and eventual partnership with Porini Ecotourism, respondents and groups in this study, expressed concerns over the manner in which they were informed about the partnership. They were informed of the intended

partnership at an AGM, which is Group Ranch administrative procedure as required by the Land (Group Representative Act).

Arguing against the efficacy of AGMs as consultative forum, (K2) noted:

Group Ranch AGMs are announced by word of mouth and have no regular calendar. At these AGMs, there is a standard Agenda and owing to the number of participants and location, many voices are not heard. Therefore, Group Ranch AGMs, do not provide favourable environments to discuss matters as sensitive as partnership agreement in detail. In this regard, we think our leaders failed us. Apart from the AGM where it was only mentioned, most consultations were done through selected leaders whom members believe were mainly friends of the officials.

However, several others expressed satisfaction with the use of AGM to make the announcement of the partnership saying there were no other forum that brought the entire community together in one gathering. They acknowledged the limitations of such gatherings when it came to equal contributions but maintained that the nomadic nature of the Maasai made it impossible to have comprehensive consultations and time was of essence in brokering the partnership with Porini.

4.6 Strategic Planning & Governance

4.6.1 Role of Group Ranch Officials

The Group Ranch officials played a key role in facilitating the partnership by providing an enabling environment for the investor. The enabling environment included allowing Porini to proceed with negotiations without competitive bidding. Several interest groups including the youth, retired officials and women accused the leaders of rushing the partnership agreement and losing on opportunities by not allowing for a competitive

bidding process. The Secretary of the Group Ranch(KI), defended this decision arguing that:

The level of politics within the Group Ranch was not conducive for competitive bidding as it would have been reduced to a contest of competing leadership at the expense of community benefits. In addition, the concept was foreign and even their neighbouring conservancies had never engaged in that process.

It emerged that the NGOs they had relied on for support had not sensitised them on the idea of competitive bidding by prospective partners or how to price their investment. Operating on trust, the officials let Porini determine all the fees payable to the Group Ranch, in addition to drafting the partnership agreement. Supporting their actions, (KI), noted:

Despite the challenges, the partnership was supported by all group ranch officials in office at the time and a large section of the group ranch members. The support was driven by the fact that the conceptualisation of the partnership was guided by existing partnerships around Amboseli, in particular the Kimana Group Ranch Model. Those making allegations that there were inadequate consultations with group ranch members are not honest. Specific negotiations on the partnership agreement were led by the Group Ranch officials, and meetings were held to disseminate specific tenets of the agreement at different times during negotiations.

The Group Ranch officials observed that it was difficult to achieve consensus on a matter that was foreign to the community and which was associated with the national park system. The officials were convinced that entering into an economic partnership for development of tourism in Eselenkei Group Ranch was an answer to a community felt need and an answered prayer since Eselenkei had been waiting in expectation of a partner for more than a year.

The lack of agreed strategic plans for developing the Group Ranch could have contributed to the negative perspectives by some members.

4.6.3 Role of Elders/Leaders

Apart from elders defined by culture, the retired officials of the Group ranch and selected Group Ranch Committee comprised the Group Ranch elders. The Group Ranch Committee accused their colleagues in office of isolation in the negotiation process. They singled out the access to the prospective partner as an example of isolation of members from the negotiation process.

The larger membership of the Eselenkei Group Ranch never had a chance to meet or hear the partner present his proposals for the partnership except through officials. Many members have never met or seen the partner ten years after the signing of the partnership agreement.

The isolation was not only about access to the investor, many of the members never had a chance of reviewing the partnership agreement or attending review meetings. Meetings were mainly held between the investor and the Group Ranch leaders and between the investor and other organisations like KWS and IFAW. Many of the negotiation meetings were held in Nairobi at the offices of the prospective investor raising questions of credibility of the process.

There was no defined role for elders in the formal governance structure as outlined in Group Ranch Act. The structure bestowed power almost entirely on the three officials of the Group Ranch officials.

4.6.4 Role of Porini Ecotourism

Porini Ecotourism is the principle partner of Eselenkei Group Ranch. They reached out to the group ranch through the Group Ranch Officials. Being elected leaders, they saw the group officials as the legitimate contact for the community. Porini Ecotourism is the manager of Selenkay conservancy, the portion of land set aside by the group for conservation. Overall, Porini Ecotourism is solely responsible for ensuring the delivery of the agreement, in particular the tourism and revenue generation for the group ranch through the conservancy. **(K5)** noted that in working with the conservancy:

Porini embraced the leadership model as expounded in the Group Ranch Representative Act which recognised the officials as bonafide leaders of the conservancy

There was no contribution or interference with the local structures by Porini. Some respondents felt that this aloofness by Porini was not beneficial to the Group Ranch. They felt Porini should have used its power position as investor to change the governance to be more consultative and inclusive by demanding accountability.

4.6.5 Role of NGOs

Respondents pointed to several NGOs being involved in the Eselenkei/Porini partnership. These NGOs provided varying support at different times in the conceptualisation, negotiation and signing of the agreement. According to (K2):

The involvement of many parties in the process of conceptualisation and implementation of the agreement caused many problems. Very often, the role of these organisations was not clear to Eselenkei members creating anxiety and even suspicion. As the negotiations progressed, most of them stepped back. Eventually it is KWS and IFAW whose roles were sustained until the signing of the partnership agreement.

One respondent suggested that the involvement of Kenya Wildlife Service was more of a facilitation role.

In this role, KWS organised and hosted meetings between Porini Ecotourism and leaders of Eselenkei Group Ranch. They also mediated when there were misunderstanding between Porini and Eselenkei Group Ranch during negotiations, always trying to remain neutral at all times.

At the end of the negotiations, KWS were invited to be witnesses to the signing of agreement. This witnessing also gave them an arbitration role in case of future conflicts. It seems like the role of KWS ceased after signing the agreement. According to

respondents, they remained aloof after witnessing the agreement. Some respondents suggested that they remained aloof because they had nothing to benefit from the conservancy, while other said the officers who had engaged with the process were transferred and the new ones did not want to engage with a venture that was not part of their mandate.

The International Fund for Animal Welfare (IFAW), an international conservation organisation, was mentioned by respondents as a key player in the Eselenkei partnership. According to respondents, they financed start up costs for Eselenkei Conservancy by providing a loan to Porini Ecotourism to start off the conservancy. The funding was made available to both partners for payment of wages of community scouts employed by the conservancy. However Porini Ecotourism was responsible for the liability associated with the loan. It therefore followed that Porini Ecotourism were going to be responsible for management of the loan. According to (K5):

The loan money was to be used to pay salaries for game scouts who would patrol the conservancy and secure the area for wildlife. When it was time for Porini Ecotourism to pay up, IFAW converted the loan into a grant after being satisfied that it was used for the intended purpose and not for the business.

While the transaction is clear to Porini Ecotourism and IFAW, it appears that the process was not clearly explained to the Group Ranch members, who interpreted the conversion of the loan to grant to mean the money should be given to the Group Ranch. This loan emerged in several conversations with the youth with many feeling that the grant should have been given to the Group Ranch and not Porini Ecotourism. The management of Porini Ecotourism acknowledged that the IFAW loan which, was converted into a grant, remains a thorny issue in the partnership.

The lack of clearly defined roles for the NGOs is indicative a Group Ranch without systems and structures and one that could potentially enter into risky ventures for the promise of revenue.

4.7 The Negotiated Partnership Agreement

There are several factors that define a partnership agreement. First and foremost, the partners must be clearly identified and understood by each partner, the articles of the agreement needs to be clear and well drafted in a language understood by all and finally the agreement has to be signed. The Eselenkei partnership, fulfilled all the above in unclear structures, lack of plans and amidst leadership mistrust.

4.7.1 Partners in the Partnership Agreement

Eselenkei Group Ranch and Porini Ecotourism are the principle partners in the Eselenkei / Porini partnership. The partnership agreement became effective on 1st May 1997. These organisations have different status and different governance systems. While Porini has a board of Directors, the Group Ranch is managed by a select committee of three namely chairman, secretary and treasurer who are elected at an AGM and are answerable to more than 5000 members. These differences play out in the implementation of the partnership.

Porini Ecotourism was registered as an NGO in Kenya in 1997, the same year it entered into an agreement with Eselenkei. It was specifically registered for the purpose of working with communities to set up community conservancies and enable communities to benefit from tourism activities in the conservancies. Eselenkei Conservancy would be the first of such conservancies envisioned by Porini Ecotourism. The registration of Porini Ecotourism as an NGO was deliberate. **(K5)** noted the following of setting up a conservancy:

Setting up a conservancy requires substantial financial investment and small tourism businesses cannot raise sufficient funds to support initial investment costs to develop the infrastructure required to make a conservancy operational. A Conservancy needs roads to improve accessibility, employ scouts for security of wildlife and tourists, water for wildlife and tourism services, among other investments. The intention of registering an organisation Porini Ecotourism was to enable the conservancy to attract donor funding for setting up the conservancy

In terms of governance, Porini Ecotourism had two directors who also served as the board. The first Director was Jake Grieves-Cook, the founder of Porini and one representative from the Maasai community. The community representative was a renowned Maasai personality from a neighbouring Group Ranch. While he would participate in decision-making, the community representative did not have executive powers nor did he have shares in the company. Porini Ecotourism received a grant from International Fund for Animal welfare (IFAW), to support scout salaries in the early stages of setting up the conservancy.

Porini later enjoined Gamewatchers, a tour company, into the partnership. Gamewatchers was not formally introduced to Eselenkei but they took over the role of Porini Ecotourism. Porini Ecotourism became moribund in less than a year after setting up the conservancy. Today it is Gamewatchers and Porini Camps that oversee the partnership and manages Selenkay Conservancy

Eselenkei Group Ranch on its part was a body registered under the Group Ranch Act in Kenya. As observed in earlier sections, a Group Ranch is governed by three officials who are elected annually at the Group Ranch's Annual General Meeting. These three office bearers are the chairman, the Secretary and the Treasurer. These three officials hold in trust all assets of the Group Ranch, the main asset being the land. The Group Ranch Act also provides for an advisory committee of eleven also elected at the annual general meeting. However, the Act does not specify any roles for advisory committee making them vulnerable to the management team of Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer. In essence, Eselenkei Group Ranch has three 'directors' who represent more than 5000 members. According to (K3)"

Decision making in a Group Ranch is a complex process. Most times, the officials make decisions without consultation. Other times they wait for AGMs. It is never certain when the next AGM will be held. The process is very political. The strategy is always set to lock out opponents. So it may happen during drought when people are scattered.

The entrance of Gamewatchers has elicited different reactions. In the view of some respondents, this partner is not known to Eselenkei. The group ranch officials maintain that the entrance of Gamewatchers has not affected the agreement because the company is the operator of the Eselenkei camp and not the partner. Yet other members feel that they have a new partner whom they need to negotiate with afresh. Porini maintains that the partnership has not been affected by the entry of Gamewatchers.(KS) observed:

At the time of signing the partnership agreement between Eselenkei and Porini Ecotourism, Gamewatchers did not feature anywhere because it had not been registered. It is for this reason that it was never mentioned to members of Eselenkei. However the conservancy was designed to have a tourism venture to generate and pay the various fees payable Group Ranch from the partnership agreement. Porini Ecotourism, being a not-for-profit organisation, could not set up and run the business. Gamewatchers was therefore incorporated to oversee the business aspects of the partnership agreement. In doing this, Porini had not violated the agreement.

Indeed the agreement or partnership document has no mention of Gamewatchers. During the study, it emerged that Gamewatchers plays a central role in sustaining the partnership agreement. It is the employer of all staff at Porini Camp, the camp built by the investing partner, Porini Ecotourism, in Eselenkei conservancy. It is also the marketer of Porini camp and developer and supervisor of the camp facilities, a role not understood by a majority of Eselenkei members. During interviews and group discussions, Eselenkei members were concerned over the role of Gamewatchers in the partnership. They felt that Gamewatchers had replaced Porini Ecotourism without community consultation. According to the management of Gamewatchers and Porini Ecotourism, the involvement of Gamewatchers should not be a concern as long as long as the partnership was respected and implemented as outlined in the partnership.

Porini Ecotourism is aware of most of the concerns raised by the Eselenkei members. They acknowledge that these concerns may have eroded the trust in the partnership by some community members. Overall, Porini is confident of the support of majority of the Group Ranch members because they have fully met their obligations as stipulated in the partnership agreement. Porini recounts that it has had to deal with many unprecedented actions by Eselenkei members that would amount to a breach by the community. Aware that partnerships is a foreign and new concept to the community, they have accepted the challenges and sometimes lost business opportunities because the model was not attractive to conventional business financiers. According to (K4), the mistrust has nothing to do with wrongdoing on the part of Porini.

There was bound to be mistrust and suspicion between the members not necessarily as a result of dishonesty but due to knowledge gap and understanding.

The introduction of a new partner in the partnership has created some of the challenges for the partners, especially Eselenkei Group Ranch. Some respondents mistrust Porini and its intentions posing a threat to the future of the partnership.

4.7.2 Drafting the Agreement

The parties agreed that the agreement had to be presented in a written format and in an internationally recognised business language. In this regard, English was preferred. This was in spite of the fact that 90% of members of the Group Ranch were illiterate. Having no knowledge of how a partnership agreement is drawn, the group leaders surrendered the responsibility to Porini Ecotourism. Porini Ecotourism worked with a legal expert to draft the partnership agreement between Eselenkei and Porini Ecotourism. It is also Porini Ecotourism that paid the lawyers legal fees.

It emerged during study that respondents were concerned about the role played by Eselenkei in drafting the agreement. There was further concern that the written document was never availed for discussion and review by members prior to its signing, except for excerpts which were used to defend the partnership whenever necessary. It had been the

expectation of the members of the Group Ranch that the agreement would be discussed in detail before it was signed.

Porini Ecotourism defends its action to facilitate the drawing of the partnership agreement saying:

The community had no capacity to do this. We did it as a sign of goodwill. If the community had proposed a lawyer of their own, we would not have objected. It was inevitable that the agreement is written in English because we are an international company. It was the responsibility of the Group Ranch officials to translate the contents of the agreement to a language suitable for its members.

The Group Ranch leaders who signed the agreement defend their action in accepting an agreement drafted in English despite being illiterate. They cite need to speed the process in view of anxiety built in the community and conviction that the partnership was beneficial as motive behind signing the deal. Accordingly, they saw their action as being in the best interest of the group ranch members. They expressed delight that most members of the group have come to understand the contents of the agreement over time through various forums organised by community friendly NGOs. Yet they say they have since learnt many lessons and if they were to repeat the process or renegotiate the agreement anew, they would do many things differently. For the shortcomings of the current agreement as perceived by Group Ranch members, they blame the current office bearers for failing in their responsibility to deliver the promised benefits to the community by becoming too friendly to the investor. Both past and current Group Ranch leaders argue that they have done their best in defending community interests in the agreement.

4.73 Signing the Agreement

The signing of the agreement fell short of the expectation of members of the Group Ranch. As a community, they expected to celebrate their new 'milking cow', in a big ceremony where the agreement would be signed in public as a sign of goodwill by their leaders and the investor. Instead, the Group Ranch management were facilitated to travel to Nairobi to sign the agreement.

According a member of (FGD5), the officials of the Group Ranch entered into a deal. They argued that partnerships are openly negotiated. In their view:

The Eselenkei/Porini partnership was not openly and exhaustively negotiated hence it was a 'deal'. The investor made an offer in his interest as would be expected, and the leaders accepted it without much consideration and deep consultation with the members of the Group Ranch.

Their reference to the partnership as a deal was also influenced by past performance record of the Group Ranch officials. In the opinion of the youth, the leaders had mismanaged previous income received from by the Group Ranch and were keen to redeem themselves by 'bringing development' through the partnership. Hence they quickly signed the 'deal' to avoid questions over their past performance.

The other argument advanced by the youth for calling the partnership 'a deal' was based on process of selection of community representatives in meetings and seminars. It was their opinion that representation in important meetings favoured friends of the Group Ranch officials. They felt the leaders had used their friends to rubber stamp the consultation and negotiation process. They alleged that friends of the leaders were rewarded for cooperating. Lastly, the youth argued that the agreement was a deal because there was no process to build community trust. They opined that without a community program on development of the partnership, it was likely, the leaders worked with the partner/ investor's timetable, thus hurrying the whole process to meet the investor's expectations. They questioned the motivation of the Group Ranch officials in hurrying

the consultation and negotiation process despite protests and concerns by majority of the members of the Group Ranch.

4.7.4 Articles of the Agreement

The articles in the agreement include the following:

- **Size of land to be leased for the conservancy**

The land set aside as conservancy was 7000 hectares. The lease terms prevented the Group Ranch from having any form of development within 5kms radius of conservancy area, not to bring livestock to conservation area, to allow lessee to sink boreholes as necessary, to construct drains and works for disposal of waste, not to allow development within conservation area.

- **Fees**

The agreement sets the amounts that will be paid for leasing land, the entry fees, the bed-night rate, which is a percentage or fixed amount from rates paid by guests who visit Porini camp.

- **Roles and responsibilities of partners**

The Eselenkei/ Porini partnership agreement sets out a number of responsibilities for Porini Ecotourism and Eselenkei Group Ranch. Among the responsibilities of Porini Ecotourism was to cushion the Group Ranch from any legal suits relating to the tourism enterprise, protect the environment, maintain accurate records of revenues earned from the enterprise and ensure security of guests to Porini Camp and within the conservancy. Porini was further expected to give priority to Eselenkei members when employing and to liaise with Group Ranch leaders in identifying local employees, to keep the tourism facilities in good condition at all times so as to sustain tourism value of the camp and to make regular payment of all fees due to the Group Ranch. Porini Ecotourism was further required to give members of Eselenkei Group Ranch priority when it came to employment.

- **Length of the lease**

The length of the lease was 10 years from 1997

While the statements of responsibility are clearly stated and sound very simple, respondents from both parties found it difficult to expound on them. The lack of detailed elaboration of responsibilities made the agreement vulnerable to misinterpretation.

Porini recognises and acknowledges that some of the contentious issues when it comes to responsibilities were the determination of rates to be paid by Porini to Eselenkei. It argues that existing baselines were applied in determining rates that would be paid to the community. This had been discussed in detail, with each party fully informed on how rates would be arrived at and systems for annual review. The land rates were based on existing rates for leasing land to the Somali for grazing while the bed night fees were pegged to rates charged for campers on bird shooting expeditions, as the site of the tourism facility was a bird-shooting bloc. However, during data collection respondents exhibited outright ignorance on these details as explained by Porini Ecotourism. None had knowledge on how fees were agreed upon as well as the annual review system.

Apart from the rates, respondents acknowledged that most of the terminology used in the agreement was foreign to them. They therefore paid little attention to clauses in the agreement that dealt with these aspects. However they paid a lot of attention to the clause that dealt with land, not in as far as the rates were concerned, but the size that would be leased. They fear of losing land was a major concern and many were keenly waiting for the end of the lease agreement to see if the land would revert to them.

Aside from the written responsibilities, partnerships are also perceived as goodwill agreements. Eselenkei members expected Porini to do more than the written word as an expression of goodwill. The youthful respondents interviewed during this study raised concerns over lack of social responsibility by the investor towards the community. Citing examples from neighbouring community where they alleged that investors had built schools or dispensaries and used their networks to invite donors to support community

conservation projects, there was a feeling that Porini Ecotourism had done little extra for the community except to renovate a single classroom at a nearby school. For this reason they questioned the commitment of Porini to support the community.

Porini Ecotourism accepted this criticism but argued that they had done much more by offering employment to unskilled members of Eselenkei and used their resources to train them on the job. Porini considered this a vital investment in the community. Employees of Porini camp confirmed that they had no requisite skills when they were employed at the camp and that Porini camp trained them on the job and was paying wages well above the union rates. Employees at Porini camp were very satisfied with the partnership arguing that the investor had promised jobs and delivered on the same.

For all community respondents in this study, employment remained high in the list of benefits of members of Eselenkei. Most respondents were impressed by the improved lives of those that had secured employment at Porini camp. The management of Porini camp confirmed that job demand on Porini camp was enormous. Interviews with the youth and women revealed the high demand for jobs. Some youth unable to secure employment at the camp were agitating for expansion of the camp so that it can employ more. They even intimated that the initial agreement was approved based on promise by Porini Ecotourism to build a 100-bed lodge that would have many employment opportunities. Instead Porini put up a six-tent camp with 12 beds. Porini dismisses this allegation arguing that ecotourism is sensitive to the environment and cannot be based on large size lodges but rather small eco-camps with minimum impact on the environment. Ecotourism is also supposed to offer an exclusive experience to guests and small was part of the exclusivity. Porini argues that all these aspects were discussed in the initial stages and acknowledge that Eselenkei members had expressed interest in a large lodge.

Porini also pointed out that they had invested in people through development of a cultural village to benefit women. Women at the cultural village who were interviewed during this study confirmed that they had benefited immensely from the project through guaranteed income from tourists who pay to visit the cultural village and from sale of

beadwork through a curio shop based at Porini Camp. The income had enabled the women to send their children to school, access medical services and buy goats as investments. Most members of the women group are widows and women from poor families therefore income from the cultural village is a great benefit. Yet the women expect more from Porini. In particular, they wanted Porini to support with a nursery school near the village and a borehole since water and long distances to school were affecting health and education of their children respectively.

4.8 Implementation Challenges

The implementation of the partnership agreement experienced difficulties. The parties to the agreement attribute these difficulties to various factors namely governance of Group Ranch, governance of group finances, mistrust between the partners and differences in levels of exposure to the business of tourism. Also blamed are high expectations by partners, unmet expectations of partners, interference by external groups and organisations, lack of understanding of aspects of the agreement, misinterpretation of aspects of the agreement, poor communication and lack of transparency. The difficulties highlighted are but a summary of a large list of complaints by ordinary members of Eselenkei and concerns by Porini Ecotourism, now represented in the partnership by Gamewatchers Safaris. This section discusses the key challenges to both parties in implementing the agreement and how these issues are manifested in the relationship between the partners.

4.8.1 Governance

The lack of management structures and planning affected the Eselenkei partnership process as did the governance structure as expounded in the Group Ranch Representative Act. The result was delays and mistrust and

4.8.2 Managing Expectations

Arising from early interactions with conservation and tourism, and promises of new-form inclusive tourism Eselenkei was at a cross roads. There were members who were excited about the prospects of the partnership with Porini while many more were apprehensive of the risks based on past experiences with tourism and conservation. Yet there were local governance challenges around the AGM process an election of leaders. It was difficult to establish which concerns were genuine.

4.8.3 Legitimacy of Partners

The entrance of Gamewatchers Safaris into the partnership created the question of who was the legitimate partner. Members of EselenkeiGroup Ranch view the entry of Gamewatchers as significant and therefore a breach of the agreement by Porini Ecotourism. Porini has also changed names of the camp to Selenkay. It remains to be resolved if the partnership is still valid under these circumstances.

The study has shown that private/community partnerships in tourism which is referred to in various literature as sustainable tourism, has potential to bridge disconnect in distribution of tourism benefits and to positively impact the lives of host communities. The study has also established that through these partnerships, there are opportunities to improve land management and achieve environmental benefits. At the same time, there is risk. It emerged from the study that if these partnerships are not properly negotiated and monitored, they could spur conflicts and increase strife among community members, thus threatening livelihoods, investments and conservation. Therefore, an effective way to evaluate the efficacy of a private/public partnership in tourism, would involve looking at key assumptions made by proponents of the concept as observed in the literature review and compare these with the findings of the study. This section of the study reflects upon these assumptions against findings of the Eselenkei / Porini partnership. It also discusses lessons and opportunities presented by partnerships and required interventions by all interest groups and parties to improve on efficacy of these partnerships to deliver benefits.

5.1.1 Private Public Partnerships as Sustainable Tourism Development

Proponents of Private / Public partnerships in tourism promote it as having great potential to reduce leakages and increase linkages and investment partners to support host communities. The support is anticipated through purchasing of local products, trading with small local tourism-based business like guides instead of competing with them, creating jobs by employing members of host community, promoting ownership of tourism enterprises by host communities through selling shares and investing back in community directly through social development projects in water, health care, education and conservation among others. Ecotourism Kenya, in its certification program, identifies support to local businesses as criteria in accrediting ecotourism businesses. These defining standards of private/ public partnerships in tourism endear it to proponents of sustainable development who see complementarity in the approaches.

However, Eselenkei received mixed scores in as far as the standards are concerned. The complexity of the tourism business and inequality among partners creates obstacles to trading, employment, joint ownership and benefit-generation and sharing.

5.1.2 Private Public Partnerships as Effective Participation

Advocates of private / public partnerships have promoted the approach as an effective medium to achieve greater host community participation in tourism and an opportunity to increase ownership of mainstream tourism enterprises by host communities. In the case of the Eselenkei / Porini partnership, the community owns no equity in the tourism facility developed in the conservancy through the partnership.

From the findings of this study, community participation or the lack of it has no correlation to a type of tourism. There are several factors that come to play in ensuring participation. Eselenkei experienced many challenges in its approach to community participation. The process was marred with allegations of bias in attendance to meetings, bias in sharing of information and bias in selecting members who met the prospective partner.

A combination of the strong legislative power and traditional governance structure interfered with community participation in Eselenkei rendering trust and buy-in invalid. In addition, has prevented benefits from trickling to all community members through mismanagement and lack of accountability.

This reality of the Eselenkei / Porini partnership challenges the assumption that partnerships provide avenues for greater community participation in tourism and create opportunities for ownership.

5.1.3 Private Public Partnerships as Financial Benefits for Local People

In sustainable tourism dialogue, private / public partnerships are assumed to offer financial benefits to host communities since host communities are viewed as service and product providers. It is envisioned that the financial benefits will be generated from several payable services and products offered by the host community, the key ones being payment for use of services like guiding, hire of land or facilities, dividends from joint ownership of facilities and sale of products among others. In the case of Eselenkei/ Porini partnership, the financial benefits were to be derived from annual lease payment for the concession, percentage of bed night fee payable by every guest for every night spent at the Selenkay camp and supply of cultural crafts and cultural performances.

The partnership had succeeded in generating financial benefits for the community

5.1.4 Private Public Partnerships as fair distribution of tourism benefits

The opportunity for financial benefits notwithstanding, the challenge of management of group funds is exhibited in the study. It is clear from the study that generating financial benefits without prudent financial management systems and good governance may not amount to access to financial benefits and equity in sharing of finances. This study was undertaken almost ten years after the signing of partnership agreement. Yet, according to members and from observation, individual lives of members of Eselenkei Group Ranch had not significantly improved. Ten years into the partnership and their children still walk long distances to school, they did not have a secondary school and the primary school was wanting in every aspect, they still relied on the only health clinic in the area supported by missionaries. Their women still walked long distances to fetch water, there was no improvement in livestock management, and their household incomes had not changed because livestock program that would support an off-take program had not been implemented. The expectations for financial breakthrough for the Group Ranch, through the partnership remained high ten years on. Personal needs remained unmet despite income being earned by the Group Ranch. The result was frustration and disillusionment by most members. From the foregoing, it appears like a new form of disconnect of host

communities from tourism benefits is being created by the private / public partnership model.

Yet evaluating financial benefits without reference to scale and consistency could be misleading. At the time of this study, Porini reported to have paid close to Ksh 15,000,000 to the Group Ranch through various fees and payments for services including salaries to various employees over the ten-year period an equivalent of Ksh 1,500,000 annually. Quoted as a lump sum, the figures sound impressive and on face value may be used as a measure of success of the Eselenkei/ Porini partnership. If the annual payment of Ksh 1.5 million was shared equally among the members of the Group ranch, each would get Ksh 300 per year. Therefore whether the income is shared per household or used for social projects, the scale and consistency affect the impact. Proponents of private / public partnerships in tourism assumed that the income generated directly for community would be sufficient to meet both communal and personal needs.

5.1.5 Private Public Partnerships as Empowerment for Local People

Literature on private / public partnerships in tourism highlight empowerment of host communities as a benefit of such partnerships. Community empowerment is envisioned through co-ownership of tourism ventures, employment, regular incomes and better utilisation of resources on their land or area.

The experiences of Eselenkei tell a different story of expectations of communities that are in partnerships. Lack of business skills means that they do not engage in tourism operations and have little access to financial information. If they have access, they lack capacity to interpret the information. Hence many partnerships have reduced community partners to landlords and nothing more. It can be argued that being landlords and earning revenue from tourism is a form of empowerment. How will the community be empowered when they will never get a chance to run the enterprise or even learn how it is run? Until the requisite management competencies are developed within the community, the PPPs will only generate revenue for community but not empower them. Indeed

ownership can lead to empowerment but there has to be deliberate effort, by investment partners, state or NGOs to support community to acquire the necessary skills to operate tourism businesses.

South Africa's tourism industry has an empowerment program that offers training in business skills to black South Africans who want to engage in tourism (www.tbsa.travel / www.hica.co.za). Kenya needs government intervention to support skill training for members of communities that have embraced ecotourism so that employment can translate to empowerment.

5.1.6 Public Private Partnerships as Equity

Of the many attributes of PPPs, equity in benefit sharing is perhaps one of the most highly rated. Accordingly, PPPs should be models of equitable distribution of benefits among partners.

However, there are several issues that make equitable sharing of benefits a challenge. First and foremost is the uncertainty over what constitutes benefits and secondly is the interpretation of the term equitable. Then there is the question on how the benefits are generated and by whom. Literature on ecotourism and sustainable tourism do not have definitions of these terminologies. There is therefore an assumption that anything the community needs from a partnership and anything the partner gives is a benefit. If community needs water, energy, roads, schools, bridges, airstrips, colleges, education bursaries, health centres, markets, grants; these become their perceived benefits. Equally, if the community partner perceives benefits to community to mean delivery of contractual obligations, they will work towards delivering the obligations.

The Eselenkei partnership agreement does not define benefits making it difficult for projects undertaken by the leadership and seen as benefits to please all members. Members expect the benefits to bring change to individual lives of the people for them to consider interventions as benefits. The common/public good has failed to translate to

personal good for most members of the Group Ranch except for those who are employed in the tourism facility.

5.1.7 Resource Ownership and Management

As observed in the literature review, PPPs promote ownership and access to resources by community and sees one way of community empowerment as being through resource ownership. Ownership is thus used as a benchmark for evaluating best practice tourism including community tourism partnerships.

The Eselenkei/Porini Ecotourism, has been designed to ensure community retains ownership of the land resource. Unlike in conventional tourism developments where investors buy land and lock out host communities from future benefits of the land, this partnership has not dispossessed the community of their land. In the event that the partners disagree and the partnership is dissolved, the community will have their land and an established destination. This is a positive element of the Eselenkei / Porini partnership agreement..

PPPS envision tourism ventures that will embrace low impact environmental practices and contribute to conservation of resources. These partnerships provide learning opportunity for host community and partners on better approaches to management of natural resources. Direct interest in species conservation and research characterise most conservancies making many of them models of best practice tourism.

5.1.8 Roles, Responsibilities and Commitment of Partners

The role of partners in a partnership should be very clear to all parties at all times. This builds trust and enables partners to concentrate on their responsibilities. In the case of Eselenkei / Porini partnership, Porini is very clear on its role and obligations. However, the role and responsibility of Eselenkei Group Ranch and its members in the partnership is not clear to members. This lack of clarity has created an environment of suspicion between members and their leaders and members and Porini Ecotourism

Since a partnership is a relationship characterized by mutual cooperation and responsibility, as for the achievement of a specified goal and is defined by a set of rights and obligations or responsibilities, it is paramount the partners understand their roles and responsibilities and remain committed to the goal. In a conventional partnership, partners equally share these rights and responsibilities. Consequently, to avoid future conflicts these rights and responsibilities must be clearly stated in the agreement and be known and understood by all parties from the onset of negotiations.

The Eselenkei / Porini partnership agreement defines obligations of both partners but fails to distinctively describe all rights and goal of the partnership. This has made the agreement vulnerable to interpretations thereby sparking debates on various items from time to time. This vulnerability can be a threat to the partnership

5.2 Conclusions

Private public partnerships in tourism are comparable to participatory development models. Just like participatory development models, which, face a flurry of scepticism about their efficacy in securing local people participation in development projects, and are continuously challenged to prove themselves, PPPs in tourism need to prove themselves as effective in reducing the disconnect between tourism statistics and destination development.

The steady growth of PPPs, in Kenya, albeit in many different forms, shows the desire of host communities in tourism destinations to engage and benefit from tourism. This presents an opportunity for the government and non-state actors to intervene and provide an enabling environment to ensure that these partnerships contribute to the vision of and reduces the gap between tourism statistics and development in destinations.

In intervening, the government and non-state actors should be careful to avoid and/or address the assumptions inherent in PPPs. Among other areas, deliberate efforts should be put to address the following:

- **Governance by community**
- Access to 'friendly' credit for community
- Training for community in relevant skills
- Institutions to support community in negotiations
- Integrated development in destinations to avoid dependence on tourism
-

Increasingly, tourism developments are taking place outside protected areas on community land, through partnerships. Effectively, the tourism product and models are changing fast. Significant changes are taking place in land tenure systems with Group Ranches being sub-divided into private land parcels creating opportunities for landowners to invest in tourism. With an estimated 70% of Kenya's wildlife reportedly living outside protected areas, changes in land tenure systems will have significant impact on wildlife as well. The sub-divisions will affect the tourism potential of affected areas and could either deepen further the gap between tourism and local livelihoods or create opportunities to share tourism benefits with host communities. There is need for intervention by government to consolidate into policy what until now has grown organically through community goodwill and support from private sector, and conservation and development NGOs. While well meaning, the work of the NGOs remains vulnerable in the absence of supporting government policy.

The state and other stakeholders can build on these positive responses by communities to PPPs. The government should therefore develop a national support process for communities to engage in tourism through policy, incentives programs, training and financial support among others. Having a legislation that defines conservancies and creates guidelines for community partnerships will ensure that private public partnerships in tourism are sustainable and achieve desired outcomes of reducing disconnect between tourism revenues and destinations.

REFERENCES

- Akama, S.J. (1990). "The Efficacy of Tourism as a Tool for Economic Development in Kenya." <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/idep/unpan002584.pdf>. Accessed on March 13, 2011.
- Akama, J. (1999). "The evolution of tourism in Kenya" *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. Vol. 7. No. 1.
- Awuondo, J. & F.Nthuku. (1992). "Social-cultural and economic impacts of Tourism." in Gakahu C & Goode B. (eds.). *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development in Kenya*. Nairobi. Wildlife Conservation Society.
- Berg, B. (2004). *Qualitative Research Methods for Social Sciences*. USA. California State University, Long Beach.
- Bovaird T. (2004). "Public Private Partnerships: From Contested Concepts to Prevalent Practice." *International Review of Administrative Sciences*. Vol. 70. No 2.
- Buckley, R. (2009). *Ecotourism-Principles and Practices*. Australia: CAB International
- Ceballos-Lascurian, H. (1996). *Tourism Ecotourism and Protected Areas*. Gland. IUCN and The Commission of European Communities.
- DFID. (2002). *Wildlife & Poverty Study*, DFID Livestock & Wildlife Advisory Group. Kent. DFID Environment Policy Department.
- DFID. (2007). *Changing the Nature of Tourism: Developing an Agenda for Action*. London. DFID Environment Policy Department.

- ESOK. (2002). *Ecoiourism Society of Kenya Newsletter*. Nairobi. ESOK. Issue No. 5.
- ESOK. (2004). *Ecotourism Society of Kenya Newsletter*. Nairobi. ESOK. Issue No. 9.
- Gakahu, C.&B. Goode.(eds). (1992). *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development in Kenya*. Nairobi. Wildlife Conservation International.
- GOK.(2003). *Draft National Tourism Policy*. Nairobi, Ministry of Tourism
- GOK. (2007). *Kenya Vision 2030*. Nairobi. National Economic and Social Council of Kenya.
- GOK. (2009). *Draft Community Based Tourism Framework*. Nairobi. Ministry of Tourism and Commonwealth Secretariat.
- GOK. (2011). *Draft Wildlife Conservation and Management Bill*. Nairobi. Government Printers.
- GOK. (201 \). *Kenya County Fact Sheets*. Nairobi. Commission on Revenue Allocation
- GOK. (2011). *Tourism Act 2011-No. 28 of 2011*. Nairobi. Government Printers
- Goodwin H. (2005). "Responsible Tourism and the Market". *International Centre for responsible Tourism Journal*. Occasional Paper No. 4. University of Greenwich.
- Green C. (1979). "Tourism and African Development: Change and challenge of Tourism in Kenya". Leiden. African Studies Centre.
- Gunling, L. et al. (2000). *Case Studies on Sustainable Tourism and Biological Diversity*. Bonn. Federal Agency for Nature Conservation.
- Honey, M. (1999). *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development: Who owns Paradise?* Washington DC. Island Press.

- Ikiara, M.&C. Okech.(2002). "Impacts of Tourism on Environment in Kenya".K/PPRA Discussion Paper No. 19. Nairobi: Productive Sector Division Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis.
- IUCN. (2006). *Community Conserved Areas 2006*. UK. WCPA-IUCN.
- Lindberg, K. (1991).*Policies for Maximizing Nature Tourism's Ecological and Economic Benefits*. New York: World Resource Institute.
- Mirivitsaya, N. & W. Archer (2001) *Guide to Sustainable Development and Environmental Policy*. London. Duke University Press.
- Mitchell, J.& C. Ashley.(2010).*Tourism and Poverty Reduction- Pathways to Prosperity*. London.Earthscan.
- Mwakima, M. (2006). "Opportunities and Constraints towards Sustainable Ecotourism Development in Kenya Rangelands. The Case of II Ngwesi Communal Ranch & Sweetwaters Game Sanctuary Kenya".MSc. Dissertation in Environmental Studies.School of Environment and Human Sciences. Kenyatta University.
- Mwangi, D. (2005). "A Case Study of the Ecotourism Project in Selenkei Ranch, Amboseli Kenya".MA.Thesis in Tourism Studies.Faculty of Arts.University of Witwatersrand.
- Mwaura, F. & G. Gona. (2011). "Guidelines for Conservancy-based Tourism Development in Kenya".Nairobi. Basecamp Foundation Kenya and Kenya Wildlife Trust.
- Nelson, F. (2009). "*Community Rights, Conservation & Contested Land- The Politics of Natural Resource Governance in Africa* ". London: Earthscan.

- Ngethe, J. C. (2008). "Group Ranch Concept & Practice in Kenya with Special Emphasis on Kajiado District". Nairobi. FAO/ ILRI.
- Norton-Griffith, M.&C. Southey.(1995). "The Opportunity Cost of Biodiversity Conservation in Kenya". *Ecological Economics*. London. Vol. 2. Pg. 125-139.
- Odunga, P. (2005). *Choice of Attractions, Expenditures and Satisfaction of International Tourists to Kenya*. Wageningen University.
- Okech, R.&B.Urmilla. (2009). "Sustainable Ecotourism Management in Kenya". *Ethiopia Journal of Environmental Studies*. Vol. 2, No1.
- Reed, D. (1996). *Structural Adjustments: The Environment and Sustainable Development*. London. Earthscan and WWF
- Reid, R.S. (2002). *Savannas of Our Birth- People, Wildlife and Change in East Africa*. Los Angeles. University of California Press.
- Richards, M. (2006). "Ecotourism in Kenya". Msc. Dissertation in Tourism. Department of Planning. Oxford Brookes University.
- Richie, B.W., P. Burns. & C. Palmer (Eds.). (2005). *Tourism Research Methods: Integrating Theory with Practice*. Wallington. CAB International.
- Roe, D. et al. (2000). *Evaluating Eden: Exploring Myths and Realities of Community-Based Wildlife Management*. London. IIED.
- Roe, D. et al. (2001). *Getting the Lions Share from Tourism: Private Sector-Community Partnerships in Namibia*. Volume 1. London. IIED.
- Roe, D. et al. (2001). *Getting the Lions Share from Tourism: Private Sector-Community Partnerships in Namibia*. Volume III. London. IIED.

- Rutten, M.M.E. (2004). "Partnerships in Community Based Ecotourism Projects: Experiences from Masai Mara Region Kenya". *ASC Working Paper*, 57/2004. Volume 1. Leiden. African Studies Centre.
- Selsky, J. W. & B. Parker. (2005). "Cross Sector Partnerships to Address Social Issues- Challenges to Theory & Practice" *Journal of Management*, Vol. 31.
- Sibanda, B. (2001) *Wildlife at a Crossroads: Is Zimbabwe CAMPFIRE the way forward?* Harare. SAPES Trust.
- Sindiga, I. (1995). "Wildlife Based Tourism in Kenya." *Journal of Tourism Studies*. Vol. 6.No.2. African Studies Centre.
- Sindiga, I. (1999). "Tourism and African Development: Change and challenge of Tourism in Kenya." *Journal of Tourism Studies*. African Studies Centre.
- Smith, S.L.J. (2000). *Practical Tourism Research*. Canada: CAB International
- Thome, S. (2005) *Data Analysis in Qualitative Research*. EBN Journal. RCN Publishing. <http://bmi-ebn.highwire.Org/content/3/3/68>. May 2, 2008
- Teicher, Julian, Quamrul Alam, and Bemadine Van Gramberg. (2006). "Managing trust and relationships in PPPs: some Australian experiences" *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, Vol.72. 1.
- UNCED. (1995) *Agenda 21 for Sustainable Travel & Tourism*. New York. UNCED.
- UNEP. (1998). *Ecolabels in the Tourism Industry*. Paris. United Nation Environmental Programme.
- UNEP and CBD (2002). *Biological Diversity and Tourism: Development of Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism in Vulnerable Ecosystems*. Montreal. Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity.

- Vaughan, D. (2000). "Tourism & biodiversity: A Convergence of \nleresls?" *Journal of International Affairs*. VoX. 76. No. 2.
- Watkin, R. J. (2003). *The Evolution of Ecotourism in East Africa: From an idea to an industry*. IIED Wildlife and Development Series No. 15. London. IIED.
- Western, D. (1992). "Ecotourism: The Kenya Challenge." in Gakahu, C. and B.E.Goode. (eds.) *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development in Kenya*. Nairobi. Wildlife Conservation Society.
- Western, D. (1993). "Defining Ecotourism." In Lindberg, K. & D.E. Hawkins. (eds.) *Ecotourism: A Guide for Planners and Managers*. North Bennington, VT: Ecotourism Society.
- Wolmer, W. and C. Ashley. (2003). "Wild Resources Management in Southern Africa: Participation, Partnerships, Ecoregions and Redistribution" *IDS Bulletin*. Vol. 34. No. 3.
- World Bank Report (2010). "Kenya's Tourism: Polishing the Jewel." Finance and Private Sector Development Africa Region. Washington DC. World Bank.
- World Tourism Organization. (2004). *Tourism and Poverty Alleviation- Recommendations for Action*. Madrid. World Tourism Organisation.
- World Tourism Organization. (2005). *Tourism Microfinance and Poverty Alleviation*. Madrid. World Tourism Organisation.
- World Tourism Organisation. (2005). *Harnessing Tourism for the Millennium Development Goals*. New York. World Tourism Organisation.

World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC). (2003). *Blueprint for New Tourism*. Brussels.

WTTC.

Ziffer, K. (1999). *Ecotourism: The Uneasy Alliance*. New York: The Ecotourism Society.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 - Key informant Interview Guide

1. How did Eselenkei come to existence?
2. How did Eselenkei first engage in tourism?
3. What was the nature of this engagement?
4. How did the community perceive those early forms of tourism?
5. How did you learn about partnerships in tourism?
6. Where and when did you hear about partnerships?
7. Did you think it was worth engaging in a partnership?
8. What has been your role in this partnership?
9. Do you know the parties to the partnership?
10. What were your expectations?
11. Have these been met?
12. Have members' expectations been met?
13. Who negotiated the partnership?
14. Were you party to the negotiations?
15. What have been the problems in setting the partnership?
16. How were these issues resolved?
17. How would you describe the partnership?
18. Are you aware of the details of the partnership?
19. Do you understand your role in the partnership?
20. How is the partnership governed?
21. Has the conservancy benefited from the partnership?
22. How have you benefited?
23. List some of the benefits?
24. Is everybody benefiting

Appendix 2 - List of Interviewees

| Name | Role/ Position | Group Ranch Membership | Reference |
|-------------------|--|-------------------------------|------------------|
| Keturai Ole Babu | Group Ranch Secretary | Group ranch member | K1 |
| David ole Kitasho | Head Scout of the conservancy and former GR official | Group Ranch member | K2 |
| Thomas Kasaine | Former GR official | Group ranch member | K3 |
| Oscar Okello | Camp Manager- Amboseli Porini Camp | Non- member | K4 |
| Jake Grieves Cook | Director Porini Ecotourism and Gamewatchers Ltd | Non- Member | K5 |
| Nainguana Matura | Chairlady- Eselenkei Trust Village | Group ranch member | K6 |
| Wilson Kasaine | Guide- Amboseli Porini Camp | Group Ranch member | K7 |
| Kasaine Kirima | Room Steward- Amboseli Porini Camp | Group Ranch member | K8 |
| Kisemei Saruni | Borehole operator / bicycle repairer | Group Ranch member | K9 |
| Empapa Kotiaki | Waiter Amboseli Porini Camp | Group Ranch member | K10 |
| Jackson Marese | Waiter Amboseli Porini Camp | Group Ranch member | K11 |

Appendix 3 - Respondents Consent Form

| | |
|--|--|
| Date | |
| | |
| Place | |
| | |
| Name of Respondent | |
| | |
| Age (optional) | |
| | |
| Sex | |
| | |
| Description of status in the Group Ranch | |
| | |
| Role in Partnership | |
| | |
| Disclosure of name (Yes/No) | |

Appendix 4 - FGD- Discussions Groups by Location

| Group Description | Location | Participant names | Gender / Age group | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|--|-------|
| Group Ranch Committee members | Lenkistem Centre | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LeiyanaLombaa • LemokoboNtoker • NtariKusupai • KupeseKisikon • MorinkeKayika | Men- All elders | FGD 1 |
| Heardsmen | Enkii Borehole / Iloirero Centre | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • KupereLemoboko • LesinetShuaka • ShekutiKirinkai • LempapaiLemoboko • NaanailCimiti | Men- Mixed ages | FGD 2 |
| Eselenkei Trust Cultural Village | Empakaani | Members of the cultural village | Women - mixed ages | FGD 3 |
| Clients at Bicycle repair centre | Iloirero Centre | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anonymous | Men- Mixed ages | FGD 4 |
| Youth | Enki Borehole | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anonymous | Mainly Female fetching water/doing laundry | FGD 5 |

Appendix 5 - FGD GUIDE

Section I - Group Details

Group Description/ Name:

Location:

Date:

Section II - Introduction

- Introducing the Researcher
- Amount of time required to participate in study
- The questions to be discussed
- Request consent to participate
- Options for disclosure or non-disclosure of identity
- Duration of sessions
- Process
- Documentation

Section III - Background of study

- Objective of the Study
- Clarifications / questions

Section IV - Questions

1. Describe the area where you live?
2. What do you know about tourism in Eselenkei?
3. How did Eselenkei learn about Partnerships in tourism?
4. How did Eselenkei go about setting up their partnership with Porini
5. What were the main discussion items in setting up the partnership?
6. How were they resolved?
7. How were you involved?
8. How would you describe the partnership?
9. What are the details of the partnership agreement?
10. List some benefits of the partnership?